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RITUAL AND BELIEF IN MOROCCO

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THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

RITUAL AND BELIEF IN MOROCCO

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BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
1926

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

[p.iv]

PREFACE

WHEN I was preparing my book *The Origin and Development* 000 *of the Moral Ideas* I thought that it might be useful for me to acquire first-hand knowledge of some forms of culture which differ from our own. As the University of Helsingfors [122] had granted me a very handsome travelling scholarship, which enabled me to stay abroad for years, I contemplated going to the East to study both civilised and savage races. I sailed for Morocco in 1898 — and never went farther. I soon realised what a laborious undertaking it is to acquaint oneself sufficiently well even with the natives of a single country: it requires a prolonged stay among them and knowledge of their language. Even the best interpreter is apt to omit details which, though apparently trivial, may be of the greatest importance for a right understanding of the custom or belief in question, or to let his attention slacken for a moment, or to give an inaccurate meaning to expressions which baffle all direct translation. Morocco offered the double advantage of being little known and within easy reach of Europe. I went there time after time; and in the [114] course of twenty-one journeys undertaken in the period between 1898 and 1926 I spent there altogether seven years.

I made it a point to visit towns and tribes in different 114 parts of the country, and to employ as teachers natives of other tribes to which I could not go myself. Thus I spent half a year in Fez; the same length of time among the mountains of Andjra, and several weeks among the Jbâla of Jbel Ḥbīb and the Sáḥel; many months in the Faḥṣ and the Ǵarbîya; nearly two months among the Ulâd Bû‘âzîz in Dukkâla, besides which I had daily intercourse with people of this tribe during my five months' stay in

114 Mazagan ; a shorter time among the Beni Ăḥsen and the Mnáṣăra ; three months among the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas range ; and many months in Marráksh and Mogador, where I had Shlöḥ as my teachers. During my stay in Fez and Ṣĕfru and the excursions I made from the latter place to the surrounding tribe of the Aiṭ Yúsi, I had an opportunity to study the Berbers belonging to the group of the Brâber ; and at Tangier and Tetuan I came in very frequent contact with Berbers from the Rīf.

In those days when I made nearly all my journeys in the interior of the country there were no roads, and very many districts were inaccessible to travellers. Even for my sojourn in Andjra, which was then in a disturbed state, the Russian legation required of me a written statement to the effect that I went there entirely at my own risk. Yet the treatment I received there, as well as among other mountaineers and peasants not generally noted for friendliness towards Europeans, was invariably of the kindliest nature. For this I have to thank my Moorish friend Shereef 'Abdsslam l-Baqqâli, who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Morocco and given me invaluable assistance. I am happy to say that the President of the Republic of Finland has been pleased to confer on him knighthood of the order of " Finlands Vita Ros " as a reward for the services he has rendered me.

From a sociological point of view Morocco is much better known now than it was at the time when I commenced my researches. This is chiefly due to numerous important publications which have appeared in French during the last quarter of a century, though Mr. Budgett Meakin's books also deserve recognition. The literary activity of La Mission scientifique du Maroc, Le Comité d'Études berbères de Rabat, l'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat, and L'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, has been imposing ; and valuable works have, in addition, appeared outside the range of their publications. Much attention has been bestowed on the particular subject with which I am dealing in the present book. Various points of it have been ably treated by Messrs. Doutté, Laoust, Henri Basset, and others ; and if the object of my book had been to give a comprehensive account of all that is known about the popular religion and magic of Morocco, their names would certainly have appeared more frequently in its pages. But its aim is less ambitious, being chiefly restricted to a presentation and discussion of the results of my own researches among the natives. 114

A considerable portion of these results have been previously published in the following essays and articles :— 113 "The Nature of the Arab *Ǧinn*, illustrated by the present Beliefs of the People of Morocco", in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxix. (1900); "The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs", *ibid.* vol. xxxiv. (1904); "Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco", in *Actes du douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Rome, 1899*, vol. iii. pt. i. (Florence, 1902); "Midsummer Customs in Morocco", in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. (1905); "The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco", *ibid.* vol. xxii. (1911); "*L-'âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco", in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907); *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. liv. 1911–12, sec. B, No. 1; Helsingfors, 1913); *The Moorish Conception of Holiness* (*Baraka*) (the same series, vol. lviii., 1915–16, sec. B, No. 1; Helsingfors, 1916); *The Belief in Spirits in Morocco* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, vol. i. No. 1; Åbo, 1920). The facts and most of the theories in these publications have, more or less revised, been incorporated in the present work, but a large number of facts have been added, and the subjects concerned have also in other respects been treated more fully. Moreover, many new subjects, not previously dealt with by me, have been introduced; so that at least one half of the work may be said to be completely new. Other results of my researches, not embodied in this book, are found in a purely linguistical essay, *Nomina im status absolutus und status annexus in der südmarokkanischen Berbersprache* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. lvi. 1913–14, sec.

113 B, No. 3; Helsingfors, 1914); and in my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), a French translation of which, made by Madame J. Arin, has been issued by L'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat (Paris, 1921).

000 I beg to express my most sincere thanks to Miss Helena Hadley for kindly reading over both the manuscript and the proofs. To her suggestions I am indebted for the improvement of many phrases and expressions, as also to some references to books with which she has supplied me when I have been out of reach of an adequate library. I have to thank my friend Professor C. G. Seligman for stimulating discussions and for information on certain points.

[122] I gratefully acknowledge the material support given me by the Rockefeller Research Fund Committee at the London School of Economics and Political Science by making liberal grants towards the expenses for my journeys to Morocco in the summers of 1924 and 1925.

My friend Carl Dahl, Consul-General of Sweden at Tangier, has much contributed to my comfort by his kindness in placing at my disposal his delightful country house for the many months I spent in Morocco in the course of the last two years.

E. W.

Villa Balbina, outside Tangier,
30*th March* 1926.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

In rendering Arabic and Berber words and phrases used in 104 Morocco I endeavour to represent them as they are pronounced by the natives, independently of the written Arabic. As the same word is often pronounced differently in different places, and by different persons, the reader should not accuse me of inconsistency if he finds it spelt sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

My system of transliterating the Arabic consonants is the following :—

B represents ب ; *d* د, or ذ when pronounced as the English *d*; *đ* ذ when pronounced as *th* in *this*[1]; *ḍ* ض, or ظ when pronounced as ض ; *đ̣* ظ when not pronounced as ض[2]; *f* ف, in Morocco written ڢ ; *g* ج or ق, in Morocco written ڨ, when these letters are pronounced as *g* in *grand*, a sound for which the Moors also use a ك with three dots above it ; *ġ* غ ; *h* ه ; *ḥ* ح ; *ḫ* خ ; *j* ج when pronounced as the French *j*, *ᵈj* (or, if the sound is doubled, *ᵈᵈj*) representing the same letter when pronounced as the English *j*; *k* ك; *l* ل[3]; *m* م ; *n* ن ; *q* ق (Moorish ڧ); *r* ر ; *s* س ; *ṣ* ص ; *š* ش (a letter which is also represented by *sh* in names of common occurrence); *t* ت, or ث when pronounced as the English *t*; *ŧ* ث when pronounced as *th* in *thing*; *ṭ* ط ;

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[1] Among the Jbâla the ذ of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[2] In Andjra the ض of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[3] *L*- represents the definite article ال.

104 t^{s} ت or ث, when these letters are pronounced as *ts*; *w* و when pronounced as *w* in *will*; *y* ى when pronounced as *y* in *yoke*; *z* ز; ‘ ع; ’ ء (*hamza*).

In some Berber words the following signs are also used :—

g^{y}, to represent a sound which to me appeared almost as a strongly pronounced consonantal *y*, but which my Berber scribe from the Aiṯ Sáddĕn, who had a remarkably fine ear, considered to be more closely related to a *g*; *ẖ*, corresponding to the German *ch* in *ich*; *ñ*, to be pronounced as *n* in *bank*; and a small letter above the line (^{k}, ^{n}, ^{r}, ^{t}, ^{w}, or ^{y}), to be pronounced with a reduced sound.

The vowels are, at least approximately, to be pronounced—

A as in Italian; *å* between *a* and *o*; *a̤* between *a* and *ä*; *ä* as in *fat*; *e* as in *met*; *ẹ* between *e* and *i*; *i* as in *this*; *o* as in *not*; *ö* as in German; *u* as in *put*; *ů* between *u* and *o*; *ü* between *i* and the French *u*.

The sign ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ^ that it is long and accentuated; ˘ that it is very short; ´ that it is accentuated.

The vowel sounds of the words are subject to great variations, not only in different localities, but in the same locality, and even in the mouth of the same individual. The length of the vowel, in particular, is a very difficult matter, both because it is so changeable, and because it allows of so many different degrees; and it is equally difficult in many cases to distinguish between the presence or absence of a vowel sound before a consonant or between two consonants. In these respects absolute accuracy may, in fact, be impossible without the aid of phonetical instruments.[1] I have only made use of the signs ¯, ^, and ˘ in cases when I have distinctly heard the sound pronounced either long or very short, but the omission of any such sign does not *eo ipso* imply that it might not have been used, nor does the use of it imply that the vowel is always pronounced long or very short, or, in the latter case, that a vowel sound is always present. Some distinguished students of colloquial Arabic have (largely, I believe, under the influence of the written language) applied the symbol for length more liberally than my ear has allowed me to do; vowels which in the Arabic writing are marked as long have a distinct tendency to be pronounced short in syllables which are not accentuated. The accent is also very changeable both in Arabic and Berber words, and ´ or ˆ over a vowel only indicates that I have heard the syllable in which it occurs accentuated, not that it invariably is so; and in Berber words the sign for the accent has very frequently been omitted.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. xi.

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[1] On the accent in Berber see Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilḥischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 14; Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 44 *sqq*.

[p. xii is blank]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

LIST OF TRIBES, DISTRICTS, TOWNS, AND OTHER LARGE PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

103 'Abda, district in the neighbourhood of Saffi inhabited by " Arabs ".
Agadīr Iġīr, town on the coast of Sūs.
Aglu, large place on the coast of Sūs.
Ait 'Attab, Berbers living north-east of Demnat.
Ait Ba'âmran, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Bráyim, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Bûṭṭaib, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Buwúlli, Berbers in the region of Deṃnat.
Ait Mdîwal, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Ait̮ Mjilḏ, Brâber.
Ait Mzal, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait̮ Nḏēr, Brâber.
Ait̮ Sáddĕn, Brâber.
Ait Seġrúššĕn, Brâber.
Ait Táměldu, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Ait Temsâmān, Rifians.
Ait Waráin, Brâber.
Ait̮ Wäryâġer, Rifians.
Ait Wauzgit, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region
Ait̮ Yúsi, Brâber.
Ait Zĕlḍn, Shlöḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Alcazar, town in the interior.
Amanūz, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Amzṃiz, small town in the district of the Igdmiūn.
Andjra (= An^{d}jra), tribal district among the Jbâla.
Aštûkĕn, Shlöḥ in Sūs.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

103 Aṯ Buséggu, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṯ Ubáḫṯi, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṯ Yá'la; Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṯ Ziḫri, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Azẹmmur, town on the Atlantic coast.
Azîla, town on the Atlantic coast.
Beni Ăḥsen, "Arab" tribe in the neighbourhood of Salli.
Bni 'Ăroṣ, Jbâla.
Bni Ḥássạn, Jbâla.
Bni Mĕssâra, Jbâla.
Bni Mezgẹ́lda, Jbâla.
Bni Mṣáuwar, Jbâla.
Bni Zạ́rwạl, Jbâla.
Casablanca, town on the Atlantic coast.
Ceuta, town on the Mediterranean coast.
Demnat, town at the foot of the Great Atlas.
Dukkâla, district between Azemmur and Saffi inhabited by "Arabs".
Faḥṣ, tribal district outside Tangier.
Fę̆štᵃâla, Jbâla.
Fez, the chief city of Morocco.
Fṭûâka. *See* Infḍûak.
Ġaiyâtᵃa, "Arab" tribe east of Fez.
Ġarb, district inhabited by "Arabs".
Ġarbîya, tribal district with Arabic-speaking people in Northern Morocco.
Ġẹġáya. *See* Iġiġain.
Glawi, tribal district in the Great Atlas inhabited by the Iglíwa.
Ġzáwa, Jbâla.
Habṭ, ancient name for a district comprising the plains of the Ġarb and the Ḫloṭ and a portion of the mountains inhabited by Jbâla.
Ḥáḥa, district in the Great Atlas region inhabited by Shlöḥ.
Ḥămár, district south of Dukkâla inhabited by "Arabs".
Ḥiáina, "Arab" tribe near Fez.
Ḫloṭ, tribal district in Northern Morocco inhabited by "Arabs".

Ḫmaṣ, lá-, Jbâla.
Ibqqóyẹn, Rifians.
Ida Ggʷársmûgt, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Ida Ugŏ́rḍ, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Ida Utânan, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Igdmiūn, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Igerwa̤n, Brâber.
Iġiġain, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Iglíwa, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.
Iḥaḥan, the Shlōḥ inhabiting Ḥáḥa.
Imărmů̆šĕn, Brâber.
Imĕjjaṭ, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imintagen, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imintåtelt, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imsfíwan, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Infḍûak, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Inīknâfĕn, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Isksáwan, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.
Iurīkẹn, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Jbel Ḥbīb, tribal district among the Jbâla.
Laraiche, town on the Atlantic coast.
Marráksh, the southern capital of Morocco.
Masst, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Mazagan, town on the Atlantic coast.
Mehdîya, port on the Atlantic coast.
Melilla, town on the coast of the Rīf.
Mequinez, town in the interior.
Mesfíwa. *See* Imsfíwan.
Mnáṣăra, " Arabs " on the Atlantic coast north of Mehdîya.
Mogador, town on the Atlantic coast.
Ntîfa, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Rabat, town on the Atlantic coast.
Raḥámna, district between Dukkâla and Marráksh inhabited by " Arabs ".
Rīf, province situated along the eastern part of the Mediterranean coast of Morocco.
Saffi, town on the Atlantic coast.
Sáḥel, Jbâla.
Salli, town on the Atlantic coast.

Ṣĕfru, small town in the interior south-east of Fez, in the district of the Aiṯ Yúsi.
Sẹ̆ksáwa. *See* Isksáwan.
Settat, place in the Shāwîa.
Shāwîa, district south of Casablanca inhabited by " Arabs ".
Shiáḍma, district between ʿAbda and Ḥáḥa inhabited by " Arabs ".
Shrâga, " Arabs " living north-west of Fez.
Shrárda, " Arabs " in the Ġarb.
Sūs, province situated south of the Great Atlas.
Tafilelt, district in the Sahara.
Tangier, town on the northern coast.
Tarudant, the capital of Sūs.
Tazĕrwalṭ, tribal district in Sūs inhabited by Shlöḥ.
Ṭemsâmān, tribal district in the Rīf inhabited by the Ait Temsâmān.
Tetuan, town close to the Mediterranean coast.
Tinduf, caravan centre in the Moorish Sahara.
Tiznit, large place in Sūs.
Tsūl, Jbâla.
Ūdáya, l-, " Arab " tribe in the neighbourhood of Marráksh.
Ujda, small town in the north-eastern corner of Morocco.
Ulâd Bûʿăzîz, " Arab " tribe in Dukkâla.
Ulâd Frạj, " Arab " tribe in Dukkâla.
Ūnẓûṭṭ, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas.
Urîka. *See* Iurīkẹ̄n.
Wazzan, town in the interior.
Zʿair, " Arab " tribe in the neighbourhood of Rabat.
Zărhūn, mountain north of Mequinez with a town containing the shrine of Mûlāi Idrīs the Elder.
Zemmūr, Brâber.
Zkara. *See* Aṯ Zihri.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The different groups of Berber-speaking people in Morocco and their dialects, 000 pp. 1-4.—The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco, pp. 4-6.—The large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes purely or essentially Berber by origin, p. 5 *sq.*—Remarks on the customs and dwellings of the Berber- and Arabic-speaking tribes, p. 7.—Representatives of various groups of natives chosen in the present investigation, p. 7 *sq.*—The aim of the book, p. 8.—The collection of the materials, p. 8 *sq.*—The psychological origin of rites, p. 9 *sq.*—The historical origin of rites, p. 10 *sq.*—The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences from various quarters, pp. 11-15.—Arabic influence, p. 12.—Negro influence, p. 12 *sq.*—Christian influence, p. 13 *sq.*—Roman, Punic, and ancient Egyptian influence, p. 14.—Similarities between rites and beliefs in Morocco and those found on the other side of the Mediterranean, p. 14 *sq.*—A very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers belonging to the Mediterranean race, p. 15.—Blondness among the Berbers, p. 15 *sq.*—The meaning attached to the terms religion and magic, pp. 17-34.—Sir James Frazer's views, pp. 17-21.—Mediæval conceptions of magic, pp. 19-21.—Distinction between " natural " and " supernatural " phenomena or causes, pp. 21-23.—The relationship between magic and religion, pp. 24-26.—The meaning of the word *religio*, pp. 26-28.—*Le sacré* according to Durkheim, p. 28.—The theory that religion is social in its aims and magic anti-social, or at any rate non-social, pp. 28-32.—The mediæval distinction between good and bad magic, p. 29 *sq.*—The author's views as regards the most proper use of the terms religion and magic summed up, pp. 32-34.

CHAPTER I

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

The meaning of the word *baraka*, p. 35.—Arabic and Berber terms for " saint ", p. 35 *sq.*—The *baraka* of the prophet Muḥammad, p. 36.—Shereefs, pp. 36-38.—The Sultan's *baraka*, p. 38 *sq.*—*Mrdbṭīn*, p. 40 *sq.*—*Mă‘dmmrīn*, p. 41.—Various ways in which a person may be filled with the *baraka* of a saint, p. 41 *sq.*—The transference of *baraka* from one person to another brought about against the will of its possessor, p. 42 *sq.*—The *baraka* of inanimate things appropriated by theft or magic tricks, p. 43.—*Mujâhḍīn*, or hero saints, p. 43 *sq.*—Sainthood acquired by extraordinary piety and devotion, p. 44 *sq.*—The *baraka* of scribes, p. 45.—Of little children, p. 45 *sq.*—Of schoolboys, p. 46.—Of old men, *ibid.*—Of parents with reference

000 to their children, *ibid.*—Of guests with reference to their hosts, *ibid.*—Of dead strangers, *ibid.*—Of bride and bridegroom, p. 46 *sq.*—Of mothers of twins or triplets, p. 47.—Of ordinary lying-in women, *ibid.*—Of boys when they are circumcised, *ibid.*—Of boys who are born without a foreskin or who lose it in a miraculous manner soon after their birth, *ibid.*—Of idiots and madmen, pp. 47-49.—Mythical saints, p. 49 *sq.*—Anonymous saints, p. 50.—The sea personified as a saint, *ibid.*—Mosques and holy feasts and days personified as saints, *ibid.*—The origin of the belief in saints, p. 50 *sq.*—Female saints, p. 51.—The *qóbba*, pp. 51-54.—The *bîrᵉ*, p. 54.—The *ḥauš*, p. 54 *sq.*—The *mzâra*, p. 55 *sq.*—The *ḥauwṭa*, p. 56.—The *rǻuḍa*, *ibid.*—Saintly cairns, pp. 56-60.—Whitewashed stones or rocks connected with saints, p. 60.—The *maqām* (*mqām*), p. 60 *sq.*—The *ḍâreḥ*, p. 61.—The *mǻrkä‘* (*mǻrkaḥ*), p. 61 *sq.*—The *ḫálwa* (*ḫálua*), p. 62.—Terms for saints also used to denote places connected with them, p. 62 *sq.*—The *dárbûẓ* (*ḍárbûẓ*), p. 63.—The *rbé‘a*, or money-box, of a saint, *ibid.*—Cannon-balls at saintly places, p. 63 *sq.*—The *ḥorm* (*ḥarm*) of a *sīyīd*, p. 64.—The *zâwia*, p. 65 *sq.*—Holy places and objects connected with saints, or personified as saints, which are neither marked in any of the ways described nor situated in the *ḥorm* of a *sīyīd*, pp. 66-74.—Springs or other watery places of this kind, p. 66.—Trees, pp. 66-68.—Rocks and stones, pp. 68-72.—Caves, p. 72 *sq.*—Cannons, p. 73 *sq.*—The *baraka* of rifles and shooting-guns and of the shooters, p. 74.—Places which, although not only connected with saints but also marked as saintly places, undoubtedly derive their holiness from some tree growing there, pp. 74-77.—Miracle-working trees unassociated with any saint, p. 77.—Holy stones, rocks, and caves among the ancient Arabs and Berbers, p. 77 *sq.*—Miraculous stones, rocks, and ruins not even nominally connected with saints, p. 78 *sq.*—Even ordinary stones sometimes treated as though they were sentient beings, p. 79.—Holy mountains, pp. 80-83.—Holy springs among the ancient Berbers and Arabs, p. 84.—Healing springs connected with saint-shrines, pp. 84-87.—Miracle-working springs which are in no way connected with any saint, p. 87 *sq.*—*Baraka* attributed to water generally, p. 88 *sq.*—To sea-water, p. 89 *sq.*—To the sea, although it has rather the character of a demon, pp. 90-93.—Sea-worship among the Libyans and pre-Islamic Arabs, p. 91.—*Baraka* attributed to spittle, pp. 93-96.—To animals connected with a saint, p. 96.—To the horse, pp. 97-99.—To the saddle, p. 98 *sq.*—To the sheep, pp. 99-101.—The ram known to have been a sacred animal in many North African cults, p. 100 *sq.*—*Baraka* attributed to the camel, p. 101 *sq.*—To milk and butter, p. 102 *sq.*—To the dung of cattle, p. 103.—To the greyhound, *ibid.*—To the cat, p. 103 *sq.*—To the bee, p. 104.—To honey, *ibid.*—To various animal species not previously mentioned, p. 105.—To corn and anything made of it, p. 106.—*Baraka* or magic virtue ascribed to many other vegetable species or products, pp. 106-113.—To the date-palm, p. 106.—To the olive and its oil, p. 106 *sq.*—To the fig tree, p. 107.—To dried fruit, *ibid.*—To grapes, *ibid.*—To the pomegranate, laurel, and myrtle, p. 108.—To the leaves of the poplar, p. 109.—To the oleander, p. 109 *sq.*—To various herbs, pp. 110-112.—To the white broom, p. 112.—To the palmetto, p. 112 *sq.*—To henna and walnut root or bark, p. 113.—To antimony, *ibid.*—To the ground, p. 114.—To various mineral products of the earth, p. 115 *sq.*—To rain, p. 116 *sq.*—The rainbow, p. 117 *sq.*—The lightning, p. 118.—Thunder, p. 118 *sq.*—The sun, pp. 119-124.—Sun-worship among the ancient Arabs and Berbers, pp. 121-123.—Eclipses of the sun, p. 123 *sq.*—The moon, pp. 124-128.—Moon-worship among the ancient Arabs and Berbers, p. 126.—Eclipses of the moon, p. 128.—The stars, pp. 129-131.

—The Milky Way, p. 130 *sq.*—Comets, p. 131.—Fire, p. 131 *sq.*—*Baraka* ascribed to certain days and periods, pp. 132-134.—To the recital of the creed, p. 134.—To prayer, p. 134 *sq.*—To alms-giving, *ibid.*—To the compulsory fasting in Ramaḍân and some other fasts, *ibid.*—To the pilgrimage to Mecca, pp. 134-137.—To the *qábla*, or the direction of Mecca, p. 137 *sq.*—To the east wind, p. 138.—To the Koran and the names of God, p. 139.—To certain human names, pp. 139-141.—*Baraka* or magic power ascribed to certain numbers, pp. 141-143.—To certain combinations of numbers, pp. 144-146.—Not always possible to decide whether the miracle-working power of which something is possessed may be called *baraka* or not, p. 146.—Sometimes likewise impossible to distinguish between *baraka* and the profane, p. 146 *sq.* 000

CHAPTER II

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS MANIFESTATIONS AND EFFECTS

Miracles performed by living saints, pp. 148-153.—The prayers, blessings, and curses of saints particularly efficacious, pp. 153-155.—Saints, as also persons possessed of a smaller amount of *baraka*, acting as doctors, pp. 155-158.—Saints possessed of prophetic gifts, p. 158 *sq.*—The *baraka* of a saint rather increased by his death, p. 159.—Dead saints appearing to the living, sometimes in animal shapes, p. 159 *sq.*—Dead saints having more than one grave, p. 160 *sq.*—Strange phenomena of light often connected with dead saints, p. 161 *sq.*—Miracles attributed to dead saints, p. 162 *sq.* —Their miracle-working capacity often to some extent specialised, p. 163 *sq.*—Many dead saints held in repute as doctors, pp. 164-167.—The assistance of dead saints secured by invocations, offerings, and sacrifices, pp. 167-169.—How the offerings are disposed of, pp. 169-171.—The *mqáddem* of a saint-shrine, pp. 170-172.—Promises of offerings, pp. 172-174.—Reception days of saints, p. 174.—Weekly serenades at saint-shrines, *ibid.*—Religious service at the sanctuaries of saints, p. 174 *sq.*—Annual feasts at saint-shrines, pp. 175-178.—Patron saints, pp. 179-182.—Saints ready to help those who invoke them even for the most wicked purposes, p. 181.—Religious orders or fraternities, pp. 181-186.—The *šēḫ* of a person, p. 186 *sq.*—The society of saints, p. 188.—The assistance of saints secured by putting *‘âr* on them, p. 188 *sq.*—The appropriation of, or interference with, a thing belonging to a saint's *ḥorm* punished by him, pp. 189-192.—Saints punishing robbers who merely pass by their sanctuaries, p. 192 *sq.*—Why certain saints meddle with questions of social morality, *ibid.*—Certain saints dangerous to policemen or any representatives of the Government or the Sultan himself, p. 193 *sq.*—Christians and Jews prohibited from entering the sanctuaries of Moorish saints or even from approaching holy places connected with them, p. 195 *sq.*—Certain shrines visited both by Moslems and Jews, *ibid.*—Women prohibited from visiting certain shrines or from being present at the feasts of certain saints, p. 196.—The holiness of saints polluted by contact with infidels and other unclean persons, *ibid.*—*Baraka* producing wonderful effects by physical contact, pp. 196-205.—Benefits expected from sexual intercourse with a person possessed of *baraka*, p. 198.—From the *baraka* of bride and bridegroom, p. 198 *sq.*—From contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places, pp. 199-202.—From the *baraka* of a dead saint through the medium of his followers, p. 203.—From offerings partaking of the *baraka*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

000 of a saint, p. 203 *sq.*—From the *baraka* of mosques, p. 204 *sq.*—From the *baraka* of sacred words or passages, pp. 205-219.—Written charms, pp. 208-219.—The *t^{e}ebrīd*, pp. 208-210.—Other charms belonging to the class of magic known by the name of *t^{e}qāf*, p. 210 *sq.*—Charms written against illnesses or defects of some kind or other, p. 211 *sq.*—The *maḥâbba* or *mḥẹ́bba*, p. 212 *sq.*—The *ʿaṭf* and the *jẹlb*, p. 213.—Charms written in order to make schoolboys apt to learn their lessons, p. 213 *sq.*—To make the writer invisible in the presence of others, p. 214.—The *ḥerz Mŭrjâna* (*ḥŏrz Marjâ̦na*) and the *ḥerz l-Anḏarūn*, pp. 214-216.—The *ḥerz l-jaušân*, p. 216.—Practices relating to the writing and use of charms, pp. 216-219. —*Baraka* giving efficacy to oaths and curses, p. 219.—Though generally a source of good, the *baraka* also contains a seed of evil, pp. 219-228.—Certain food dangerous to eat on account of its *baraka*, p. 219 *sq.*—The seed dangerous, p. 220.—*Qasqûsa* and other excessive *baraka*, p. 220 *sq.* —Saddles more or less dangerous, p. 221 *sq.*—The sexual power of a person affected by the robbing of bee-hives, p. 222.—Rules and beliefs relating to honey, butter, and oil, p. 222 *sq.*—To milk, wheat, yeast, and salt, p. 223. —Injurious elements in holy days and holy periods, pp. 223-226.—Friday, pp. 224-226.—Abstinence from work on a Sunday, p. 226.—Dangerous elements in the *baraka* of prayer, p. 226 *sq.*—In recitations from the Koran and the writing of charms, p. 227.—In the *baraka* of the pilgrim, *ibid.*—Precautions taken by persons visiting saint-shrines, p. 227 *sq.*—The dangerous elements in *baraka* personified in the shape of *jnūn*, p. 228.—The relations between saints and *jnūn*, *ibid.*

CHAPTER III

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS SENSITIVENESS

Baraka polluted by contact with infidels, p. 229 *sq.*—Women dangerous to holiness, p. 230.—Injurious effects resulting from contact of sexual uncleanness with *baraka*, pp. 230-234.—Excremental impurity injurious to *baraka*, p. 234.—*Baraka* polluted by a full stomach, p. 234 *sq.*—Fasting, *ibid.*—All sorts of bodily impurity detrimental to *baraka*, pp. 235-237. —Ablutions, p. 235 *sq.*—Clean clothes, p. 236.—Paring of the nails, *ibid.* —White the most suitable colour for holy persons and places, *ibid.*—Cleaning of guns, *ibid.*—Polluting effects of the breath, p. 236 *sq.*—Of blood and the shedding of blood, p. 237.—Of wrongdoing, p. 237 *sq.*—Of the killing of lice, p. 238.—Of contact with carcasses and in certain cases meat and grease, p. 239.—Of contact with the ground and its impurities, pp. 239-242 —Removing one's slippers, p. 241 *sq.*—Persons, animals, and objects possessed of *baraka* particularly susceptible to magical tricks, the attacks of *jnūn*, and the evil eye, and even affected or influenced by various acts or omissions which are otherwise harmless, pp. 242-254. —Precautions taken with regard to milk, pp. 243-245.—Rules observed when the first butter of the year is made, pp. 245-247.—Precautions taken subsequently when butter is made, pp. 247-249.—The *baraka* which produces butter very liable to be stolen, p. 249 *sq.*—The milk of a person's sheep or cattle robbed by another person or absorbed by his sheep or cattle, *ibid.*—Additional instances of the belief that *baraka* may be affected by various external influences, pp. 250-254.—Taboos relating to sieves, p. 251.—Connected with the pilgrimage to Mecca, *ibid.*—*Baraka* to be guarded against contact with steel, p. 251 *sq.*—Taboos relating to bread, p. 252.—Practices and beliefs relating to written charms, p. 252 *sq.*—

Silence to be observed in connection with *baraka*, p. 253 *sq.*—*Baraka* easily affected by other *baraka*, pp. 254-257.—Rules and beliefs relating to sheep or wool, p. 254 *sq.*—Taboos to be observed on a Friday, p. 255 *sq.* —Butter made on a Friday subject to special rules, *ibid.*—Taboos relating to schoolboys or students, p. 256.—The Sultan and the sea, *ibid.*—The shereefian umbrella, p. 256 *sq.*—Sunshine injurious to holiness, *ibid.*—Fire injurious to *baraka*, p. 257 *sq.*—Many cases in which fire has no power over a holy person or object, pp. 258-260.—The idea that *baraka* or individuals or objects possessed of it are very susceptible to harmful influences, especially those of a supernatural kind, closely connected with the idea that *baraka* itself contains a seed of evil, p. 260.—These ideas due to that feeling of uncanniness in which the conception of the supernatural itself has its root, *ibid.*—Resemblance between *baraka* and uncleanness, *ibid.*—Though chiefly of an injurious nature, uncleanness may in certain circumstances be a cause of good, p. 260 *sq.*

CHAPTER IV

THE *JNŪN* (*JINN*): THEIR NATURE AND DOINGS

Names given to these spirits, p. 262 *sq.*—Special names given to certain kinds of *jnūn*, p. 263 *sq.*—The *jnūn* resemble human beings in various respects, p. 264.—Their native country, properly speaking, under the ground, but they are fond of visiting the surface of the earth, p. 264 *sq.*—They show themselves to mankind in various shapes, pp. 265-269.—In the shapes of human beings, in which case there may be marriage or sexual intercourse between a man and a *jẹnnīya* in the disguise of a woman, pp. 265-267.—Or in the shapes of animals, pp. 267-269.—A *jẹnn* seen by certain individuals only, and methods of making *jnūn* visible, p. 269.—The *jnūn* may be heard though they cannot be seen, or their presence indicated by something strange, unusual, uncanny, pp. 269-271.—Most frequently by disturbances of the health, especially sudden ones, p. 271.—Events of an improper or uncanny character causing their unwelcome appearance, p. 271 *sq.*—Persons who get angry or frightened very liable to be struck by *jnūn*, p. 273.—Certain classes of people particularly exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*, pp. 273-275.—Dead persons protected against *jnūn* before they are buried, p. 275.—Cemeteries often considered haunted by *jnūn*, *ibid.*—Circumstances in which persons are attacked by *jnūn*, *ibid.*—Each tribe of the *jnūn* has a special day of the week when they attack human beings, p. 275 *sq.*—A *jẹnn* attacks a person by entering into him, p. 276.—Certain classes of people frequently or regularly haunted by *jnūn*, *ibid.*—Animals attacked or possessed by *jnūn*, p. 277.—Nothing more haunted by *jnūn* than blood, p. 277 *sq.*—Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, considered haunted and therefore in many cases a source of danger, p. 278 *sq.* —Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for food extremely haunted, p. 280.—Beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour, *ibid.*—To breaking wind, pp. 280-282.—Certain trees haunted by *jnūn*, p. 282.—Corn much exposed to their attacks, *ibid.*—‘*Afârĕt*’ living among the snow of the Great Atlas, p. 282 *sq.*—The shrine of Sîdi Šĕmhârûš, p. 283.—Haunted caves, pp. 283-289.—Buried treasures haunted, p. 289 *sq.*—Copper-coins and gold haunted, p. 290.—Water and places containing water haunted, pp. 290-293.—Many springs or other places containing water particularly reputed to be haunted, p. 291 *sq.*—Big stones in the sea or on the sea-shore associated with certain *jẹnn* saints, 000 p. 293.—Public baths haunted by *šayâṭîn*, or evil *jnûn*, *ibid.*—Fire and fire-places haunted, pp. 293-295.—Many *jnûn* in ashes, p. 295.—Dangerous to pour hot water on the ground or into a water-closet, *ibid.*—Thresholds haunted, *ibid.*—" The masters of the place ", p. 295 *sq.*—Haunted houses and ruins, p. 296.—Saint-shrines, *zdwiĕt^e*, and mosques haunted, *ibid.*—The *jnûn* most plentiful and active after the *'âṣar*, or mid-afternoon, prayer, *ibid.*—A variety of actions refrained from or requiring special precautions after *'âṣar*, or when it is dark, pp. 296-300.—The *jnûn* particularly numerous on certain days, p. 300 *sq.*—Confined in prison during the month of Ramaḍân, at least till the twenty-seventh night of it, p. 301.—Said to stay in their subterranean dwellings when an easterly wind is blowing, *ibid.*

CHAPTER V

THE *JNÛN*: PROPHYLACTIC MEASURES AGAINST THEM AND REMEDIES FOR TROUBLES CAUSED BY THEM—THE *JNÛN* IN THE SERVICE OF MEN AND SAINTS

The *jnûn* terrified by light, p. 302.—Afraid of salt, pp. 302-305.—Of iron and still more of steel, p. 305 *sq.*—Of silver and rings of other metals as well, p. 306.—Kept off or driven away by the smell of tar, a piece of charcoal, and soot, p. 307.—By powder, p. 307 *sq.*—By alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin, p. 308 *sq.*—By the smoke of mastic, p. 309.—By henna, walnut root or bark, antimony, and saffron, p. 310.—By a stick cut from a bitter-almond tree and an olive stick, *ibid.*—Why certain substances or their fumes are shunned by the *jnûn*, p. 310 *sq.*—*Baraka* utilised as a safeguard against them, pp. 311-313.—The *jnûn* kept off by holy words or passages, p. 311 *sq.*—By corn after the alms called *lá-'šôr* have been given out of it, p. 312 *sq.*—Inconsistencies in the relations of *jnûn* to *baraka*, p. 313.—The *jnûn* kept off by water, p. 313 *sq.*—By fire, p. 314.—By strong sounds, *ibid.*—But also by silence, p. 314 *sq.*—By means of a sacrifice, pp. 315-322.—Ceremonies connected with house-building, pp. 315-318.—With the pitching of a new tent or the pitching of tents at a new place, p. 318 *sq.*—With the digging of a well, pp. 319-321.—With the making of a new water-mill, p. 321.—Practices intended to appease the *jnûn*, pp. 322-324.—Remedies against troubles caused by them, pp. 324-351.—Tar, benzoin, and rue, p. 324 *sq.*—Powder, harmel, salt, alum, gum-ammoniac, charcoal made of lentisk, bitter almonds, a dagger, an iron-chain, and silver coins, p. 325.—Blood and earth brought from the grave of a person who has been murdered mixed with water or with coriander seed as well, p. 325 *sq.*—Homicides employed as doctors, p. 326.—Water used to cure illnesses and infertility caused by *jnûn*, p. 327.—The recitation of sacred words or of the whole Koran a method of expelling troublesome *jnûn*, *ibid.*—Written charms used for a similar purpose, pp. 327-329.—Expulsion of *jnûn* by means of certain practices generally including sacrifices or offerings, pp. 329-351.—The so-called *ḍyâfa* and similar practices, pp. 329-341.—The *jnûn* who are troubling people expelled by the active aid of persons standing in an especially intimate relation to those spirits, pp. 341-350.—Curative performances of Gnáwa, pp. 344-350.—Of 'Ẹsáwa and Jilâla, p. 349 *sq.*—Illnesses caused by *jnûn* cured by visits, with sacrifices or offerings, made to the sanctuaries of saints ruling over those spirits, p. 350 *sq.*—By offerings to *jẹnn* saints, p. 351.—*Jnûn* enlisted by men to help them to carry out their wishes, pp. 351-363.—The ring called *ḫât^{e}m*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

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l-ḥékma, p. 351 *sq.*—Method of summoning *jnūn*, p. 352 *sq.*—Methods of finding out the perpetrator of a theft by the aid of *jnūn*, pp. 353-356.—Of getting news about an absent member of the family or finding out whether a sick person at home will recover, pp. 356-359.—Of finding buried treasure, p. 359.—Method of opening doors without a key, *ibid.*—Methods of inducing *jnūn* to help people to practise witchcraft, pp. 360-362.—Method of increasing one's own sexual capacity, p. 362.—Of becoming a successful juggler, *ibid.*—*Ḥanqāṭēra ṣġīra* and *ḥanqāṭēra kbīra*, *ibid.*—Would-be magicians summoning *jnūn* to amuse people, p. 362 *sq.*—Sacrifices on the threshing-floor made to induce *jnūn* to help the workmen and to give *baraka* to the grain, p. 363.—*Jnūn* giving people a splendid opportunity to enrich themselves, *ibid.*—All departed saints have Muhammadan *jnūn* as their regular servants, *ibid.*—Saints ruling over the *jnūn* in general, p. 363 *sq.*—Over those of a certain locality, p. 364.—Saints having a so-called *ḥámma*, or place haunted by Muhammadan *jnūn* ruled over by the saint, p. 364 *sq.*

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATING TO THE *JNŪN*

The Moorish *jnūn* resemble in all essentials and in many details the *jinn* of the East, pp. 366-376.—These resemblances must not be supposed to be due to Islamic influence alone, p. 376 *sq.*—The Berber belief in spirits no doubt deeply rooted in the antiquity of the Berber race, p. 377 *sq.*—The *jinn*-cult of the East also influenced by that of the West, p. 378 *sq.*—Sudanese origin of various practices connected with the belief in *jnūn*, pp. 379-382.—The Gnāwa not only exorcists but actual *jinn*-worshippers, pp. 379-381.—The *ḍyáfa* or at least the sacrifice often implied in it probably of Sudanese origin, p. 381 *sq.*—The beliefs and practices relating to the *jinn* in Muhammadan countries may be divided into different strata, p. 382 *sq.*—Many of them preserved from the old Arabic paganism, *ibid.*—Jewish and Christian elements infused into the demonology of Islam, *ibid.*—Robertson Smith's hypothesis that the Arab belief in the *jinn* is a survival of totemism, p. 383 *sq.*—Criticism of it, pp. 384-386.—Criticism of the supposition that the *jinn* were originally the spirits of dead people, p. 386 *sq.*—The *jinn* invented to explain strange and mysterious phenomena suggesting a volitional cause, especially such as inspire men with fear, pp. 387-390.—The *jinn* and *jnūn* closely connected with other mysterious forces, p. 388 *sq.*—With the impersonal force of evil called *l-bas*, p. 388.—With the evil eye, p. 388 *sq.*—With *baraka*, p. 389.—*Jinn* probably means "covert" or "darkness", p. 390.

CHAPTER VII

INDIVIDUAL SPIRITS

Certain *jnūn* having individual names but nevertheless very shadowy beings without any distinct personality, p. 391.—The case somewhat different with certain other spirits with individual names who are generally included among the *jnūn* but present definite characteristics of their own, pp. 392-413.—'Aiša Qandîša and other female spirits who are evidently equivalents to her, pp. 392-396.—Ḥámmû Qáiyû, p. 393.—'Aiša Qandîša presumably the old goddess 'Aštart, p. 395 *sq.*—Ḥámmû Qáiyû perhaps the Cartha-

000 ginian god Ḥaman, p. 396.—The Ġôla and other female spirits who seem to be equivalents to her, pp. 396-400.—The Ġōl and Lġōl, p. 397 *sq.*—*Ġwā̦l, ġōlā̦t*, and *ḥadmânā̦t*, p. 397.—Šbûha or Šūbeh, pp. 398-400.—The eastern Ġūle or Ġūl, p. 398 *sq.*—Eastern equivalents to the *ġwā̦l*, p. 399.—Taġznt or Táġūẓnt, Ṭâʒu, and Ṭámza, whom the natives themselves identify with the Ġôla, may nevertheless be old Berber spirits, modified by Arab beliefs, p. 400.—The Táb'a (Tᵃáb'a), *t-táb'a*, or *ttábd't*, pp. 400-404.—Ûmm ṣ-Ṣûbyā̦n, pp. 400-402.—Qarîna or Qrîna, p. 401 *sq.*—The Ḫiāl, Lăḫiāl, or Lḫiāl, p. 404.—The Berber belief in a female demon living in cemeteries, pp. 404-406.—*Bġīltᵉ l-līl*, p. 406.—Lā-Ḥkīma 'Oqla, 'Airûd, and 'Aqêṣa, *ibid.*—Fáṭma and Ndaháwa, *ibid.*—Šíṭan (š-Šíṭan, š-Šíṭān, š-Šîṭan, š-Šeiṭān) or Iblis (Iblīs, Yḙblis), pp. 406-413.—The Koranic Šaiṭān or Iblīs, p. 412 *sq.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVIL EYE

The evil eye a very frequent cause of misfortune, p. 414.—Terms for a person who has an evil eye, *ibid.*—For one who has been hurt by it, p. 414 *sq.*—For the evil eye itself, p. 415.—The belief in the evil eye rooted both in the expressiveness and the uncanniness of the look, *ibid.*—The danger particularly great when the look is accompanied with speech, even though there is no feeling of ill-will or envy, pp. 416-419.—When the look is accompanied with words of praise, pp. 417-419.—Persons who have particularly baneful eyes, p. 419 *sq.*—The evil eye frequently hereditary in certain families, p. 420.—The eyes of women, *ibid.*—Of a bride, *ibid.*—Of Christians, p. 421.—Of dogs and cats, *ibid.*—The first glance most dangerous, *ibid.*—Certain persons, animals, and objects particularly liable to be hurt by the evil eye, p. 421 *sq.*—The belief that fear is a cause of misfortune, p. 422.—The danger of being affected by the evil eye very great while eating, *ibid.*—The safest precaution against the evil eye to avoid exposure altogether, p. 423.—Attempts made to cure a person who is reputed to have an evil eye, p. 423 *sq.*—People unwilling to speak of their intentions, p. 424.—If anybody shows a great liking for a thing, advisable to let him have it, p. 424 *sq.*—The *bā̦b ållåh*, p. 425 *sq.*—Means of avoiding the danger of eating in the presence of somebody else, p. 426.—Precautions taken by persons carrying food, p. 426 *sq.*—The evil glance avoided by covering, pp. 426-428.—Veiling the face, p. 427 *sq.*—Disguise a means of protection against the evil eye, p. 428.—Untidy swaddling-clothes, p. 428 *sq.*—The evil glance counteracted by burning or fumigation, pp. 429-433.—Alum used to counteract it, pp. 429-432.—Harmel, sulphur, and garlic, p. 430 *sq.*—Coriander seed and gum-juniper, p. 430.—Rock-salt, p. 431.—Gum-ammoniac, p. 431 *sq.*—Burning a few hairs of the offender's eyebrows and beard, p. 432.—Burning parings of his nails or a piece of his clothes, p. 432 *sq.*—Spilling fire or water on him, p. 433.—Showing him one's buttock, p. 433 *sq.*—Symbolic blinding of the evil eye by means of the juice of a pomegranate, grain, or earth, p. 434.—By means of thorns, bristles, and needles, p. 434 *sq.*—By means of the nail of a horse-shoe, p. 435.—Cutting off the evil glance in advance, *ibid.*—Turning it off, p. 435 *sq.*—Objects used as amulets to attract to themselves the first glance, pp. 436-441.—Skulls or other bones of animals, p. 436 *sq.*—The black picture of a Christian, p. 436.—Sooty pots or other black things, pp. 436-438.—The colour black a charm against the evil eye, p.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3
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437 *sq.*—A birth-mark, a ram with four horns, and a cock with two combs regarded as charms, p. 438.—Stone weights stolen from a market-place used to counteract the evil eye, *ibid.*—Silver coins, shells, corals, and pieces of cornelian, mother of pearl, and amber, p. 439.—Blue, p. 439 *sq.*—Silver, pp. 439-441.—Ear-rings, p. 440.—Finger rings, p. 440 *sq.*—Gold, copper, brass, and steel, p. 441.—Laurel wood, *ibid.*—The oleander, p. 441 *sq.*—Rue and tamarisk wood, p. 442.—The blood of a hare and saffron, p. 442 *sq.*—The colour yellow, p. 443.—Red, *ibid.*—Henna, *ibid.*—Rain-water which has fallen on 27th April (Old Style), *ibid.*—Fumigation with burned straw and cow-dung on Midsummer day, p. 443 *sq.*—The gall-bladder and the larynx of the animal sacrificed at the Great Feast, and the barley and salt remaining in its mouth, p. 444.—A piece of the larynx of the animal slaughtered when a child is named, *ibid.*—Earth from a saint-shrine, *ibid.*—Written charms containing passages or portions of the Koran, p. 444 *sq.*—Blessings, prayers, incantations, and certain charitable acts, p. 445.—Looking-glasses, *ibid.*—The gesture of stretching out the fingers of the right hand, often accompanied with the phrases "Five in your eye" or "Five on your eye" and sometimes followed by a similar gesture made with the left hand, p. 445 *sq.*—Stretching out of two fingers only or of the middle finger of the right hand, p. 446.—Phrases containing "five", "ten", or the term for Thursday said without any gesture with the hand, p. 446 *sq.*—To mention the word for the number five or any number reminiscent of it improper on certain occasions, p. 447 *sq.*—The number five avoided in the giving of presents, p. 448.—Representations of the hand or its fingers used as charms, p. 448 *sq.*—Various ways in which the number five is made use of in amulets against the evil eye, pp. 449-452.—The cross, p. 451 *sq.*—Cross-roads, p. 452.—Designs based on the protective gesture with the hand, "five in your eye", pp. 452-459.—Paintings of hands, brass hands, four- and eight-petalled rosettes, double-crosses, and other figures with which the Moors both embellish and protect their objects, pp. 452-455.—Figures evolved from the double-cross and the eight-petalled rosette, pp. 455-459.—Double-squares, pp. 455-457.—The empty octagon, p. 457.—Amulets containing three fives with a common centre or three squares, *ibid.*—Suggested explanation of the tendency to produce the number five doubled both on charms and ornaments—as a double-five, a double-cross, a double-square, or an eight-petalled rosette, p. 457 *sq.*—The twelve- and the sixteen-petalled rosette, p. 458 *sq.*—The image of an eye or a pair of eyes or anything resembling an eye used as a charm against the evil eye, pp. 459-466.—The actual eye of some bird used for the same purpose, p. 459.—The gem called *'ain l-horr*, *ibid.*—Combinations of hand and eye, p. 459 *sq.*—Five pairs of eyes, p. 460.—Eye-designs embroidered on cloaks, p. 460 *sq.*—Combinations of five and the eye, p. 461 *sq.*—Anything round or curved may become a charm on account of its resemblance to an eye, pp. 462-464.—Thin plates of a circular shape, silver coins and rings, and charms in the shape of a crescent, p. 462.—Horse-shoes, p. 462 *sq.*—The curved jaw-bone of some small animal and the neb of a raven, p. 463.—Claws and tusks, p. 463 *sq.*—Various other animal charms, *ibid.*—The eye represented in the form of a triangle, p. 465.—Two intersecting triangles with a small round figure in the centre, *ibid.*—Eye and eyebrow designs, pp. 465-467.—Combinations and simplifications of them, p. 466 *sq.*—The eyebrow design in architecture, p. 467.—Answer to the possible objection that the author has tried to explain widespread designs by beliefs, gestures, and charms prevalent in Morocco, pp. 467-477.—The cross, p. 467 *sq.*—The pentacle, p. 468.—The rosette, p. 468 *sq.*—Representations of a hand with its five fingers extended found

000 among ancient Mediterranean peoples and farther east most probably charms against the evil eye, pp. 469-471.—The gesture with the five outstretched fingers as a charm against the evil eye and five as a magic number among Mediterranean peoples, including the ancient Romans, p. 470 *sq.* —Representations of an eye or a pair of eyes also frequent among the ancient Mediterranean peoples, p. 471 *sq.*—The crescent, pp. 472 *sq.*—Suggestion that the Ionic capital, strongly resembling a pair of eyes with their brows united, was originally a charm against the evil eye, p. 473 *sq.* —The triangle and the double triangle forming a six-pointed star used as charms in eastern countries, p. 474 *sq.*—General argument in favour of the author's theory that the belief in the evil eye has exercised a profound influence on the decorative art, p. 475.—This belief and the practices relating to it among the Moors connected with their Islamic culture, p. 476.—But also presenting very great similarities to superstitions and practices prevalent in ancient and modern Europe, *ibid.*—The belief in the evil eye known to have existed both among Semitic and Aryan peoples since very early times, p. 476 *sq.*—Its existence among the ancient Egyptians and Etruscans, p. 477.—The present belief in the evil eye in North Africa assumed to have descended not only from Asia but also from Berber antiquity, *ibid.*—The belief in the evil eye so widely spread in different parts of the world that it cannot without strong evidence be regarded as the outcome of one particular people, p. 477 *sq.*

CHAPTER IX

CURSES AND OATHS

Differences between the curse and the evil eye and mouth, p. 479.—The realisation of a curser's evil wish brought about either directly through the mysterious power of the curse itself or by the aid of a supernatural being invoked in it, but no sharp distinction can be drawn between the purely magical curse and the curse which has the form of a prayer, *ibid.*—Terms for the categorical curse—the curse in the ordinary sense of the word, p. 479 *sq.*—The object of a curse not necessarily a human being, p. 480 —Curses having the actual form of a wish, which is mostly expressed in an appeal to God, p. 480 *sq.*—Curses upon ancestors understood to involve their descendants as well, p. 481.—Curses in which God is invoked to inflict on the victim some particular evil specified in the curse, p. 481 *sq.* —Curses having an optative form without containing an appeal to God, p. 482 *sq.*—Curses consisting in giving the other person a bad name, which is meant to cause him misfortune and in some cases to make him that which the name indicates, p. 483 *sq.*—A curse of this type often added to one which has the form of an invocation, p. 484 *sq.*—A curse calling forth another curse in reply, which is generally founded on an association of ideas by similarity and is often of a more serious character than the curse which provoked it, p. 485 *sq.*—Acted curses, p. 486 *sq.*—Curses embodied in stones, p. 487 *sq.*—Revenge taken by scribes on a wealthy man whom they have in vain asked for a present, *ibid.*—The effect of a curse influenced by the personality of the curser, pp. 488-492.—Parental curses and blessings, *ibid.*—The curse of a husband as potent as that of a father, p. 490.—The curses of saints, shereefs, and shereefas, pp. 490-492.—The curses of women, p. 490 *sq.*—A woman may serve as an asylum, p. 490.—The curses of unclean persons, p. 491.—The effect of a curse influenced by the guilt or innocence of the person who is subject to it, p. 491 *sq.*—An oath a

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conditional self-imprecation, p. 492.—Terms for it, *ibid.*—How oaths are taken, *ibid.*—Oaths sworn by God, p. 492 *sq.*—By the Muhammadan religion, p. 493.—On the Koran, *ibid.*—On writing-boards, p. 493 *sq.*—On any book of religious learning, or by the learning of an *'âlem*, p. 494.—In the presence of a band of ambulating scribes, *ibid.*—By schoolboys, *ibid.*—By a rosary, *ibid.*—By Ramaḍān, the month of the Mûlûd, or a religious feast, *ibid.*—By the eve of a holy day, p. 494 *sq.*—Oaths taken on Fridays, or some other holy days, particularly dangerous, p. 495.—Oaths sworn by the direction of Mecca or by a pilgrim, *ibid.*—Taken at mosques, p. 495 *sq.*—At saint-shrines, p. 496 *sq.*—By invoking a saint from a distance, p. 497.—Sworn by something belonging to a saint, *ibid.*—By a market-place, *ibid.*—By the saints of the district, p. 498.—Certain saints by preference invoked in oaths or reputed to be severe avengers of perjury, p. 498 *sq.*—Certain saints said to strike at once, whereas the punishment of others comes slowly, p. 499.—Oaths sworn by living saints or other persons possessing *baraka*, *ibid.*—By an old man or his gray beard, or by a little child, *ibid.*—By the breast of one's mother, p. 499 *sq.*—By the milk sucked in infancy from a woman, p. 500.—By the blood which two relatives have in common from their parents, *ibid.*—By two persons' brotherhood or friendship, *ibid.*—By a stranger on the road or by the accidental meeting of a person, *ibid.*—By a bridegroom, *ibid.*—By a band of huntsmen, p. 500 *sq.*—By a number of people who are sitting or travelling together, p. 501.—By one's own and the other party's right hand and "what they ate and drank", *ibid.*—By one or more guns, *ibid.*—By a sword or a dagger, p. 501 *sq.*—By a hoe, a *gǝmbri*, or castanets, p. 502.—By a tent or the door of a house, *ibid.*—By a horse or a saddle, *ibid.*—By an ox, a cow, a camel, or a flock of sheep, *ibid.*—By wool, milk, or honey, p. 503.—By meat or the slaughtering-place of a market, *ibid.*—By the growing crop, *ibid.*—At a threshing-floor, p. 503 *sq.*—By bread, corn, a dish containing *sẹksu*, a garden of fig trees and prickly pears, a tray with tea-pot and glasses, henna, or salt, p. 504.—By the sun, the night, a burning candle or lamp, or fire, *ibid.*—By water, p. 504 *sq.*—By a well, the sea, or the rain, p. 505.—By a stone, or at the cairn on a spot where a person has been found murdered, *ibid.*—The punishment to which a perjurer exposes himself, *ibid.*—An oath may be attended with evil consequences even though it is not false, p. 505 *sq.*—The evil energy in an oath looked upon as a miasma which contaminates anybody who comes near it, pp. 506-508.—Oaths made in a state of nakedness, p. 506 *sq.*—False accusers, p. 507 *sq.*—Perjury and methods of averting the evil consequences of it, p. 508 *sq.*—Habitual perjurers, p. 509.—Oath-taking in judicial proceedings, p. 509 *sq.*—Compurgation, pp. 510-514.—Oath-taking practised by the natives of North Africa since very early times, p. 514.—Oaths taken by women, p. 514 *sq.*—Promissory oaths or sworn vows, pp. 515-517.—The *a'lîya l-ḥărâm*, p. 516 *sq.*

CHAPTER X

THE *'ĀR* AND THE *'AHD*

The term *'âr* used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, p. 518 *sq.*—Also applied to the relationship in which a person places himself to another by putting *'âr* on him, p. 519.—The *'âr* considered unlawful by Muhammadan orthodoxy, *ibid.*—Generally not thought lightly of, though many persons take no notice of *'âr* put on them, *ibid.*—

000 Many different methods of casting *‘ār* on a person, pp. 519-537.—*‘Ār*-making by personal contact, p. 520.—By offering a person food, *ibid.*—By entering a person's house or tent or taking hold of the tent-pole at the entrance of the tent, p. 520 *sq.*—By touching or sucking a woman's breast, p. 522.—By taking hold of the handmill of the house or tent or turning it round, pp. 522-524.—By making use of a pipkin, a saddle, a piece of an old tent-cloth, the cover of a pack-saddle, or an esparto mat, *ibid.*—By blackening one's face with soot, p. 523 *sq.*—By smearing one's face or clothes with cow-dung, p. 524 *sq.*—By shaving one's head and only leaving on it two locks and a fringe or seven tufts of hair, p. 524.—By keeping a dagger or knife between one's teeth or lips, p. 525 *sq.*—By embodying the conditional curse in stones or in a stake, p. 527.—By sacrificing an animal on the threshold of the house or at the entrance of the tent of the person appealed to, p. 527 *sq.*—Supernatural energy ascribed to blood, p. 528.—Sacrifices of fowls as *‘ār*, *ibid.*—The *tᵉ‘argība* (*t‘argība*, *tᵉ‘arqẹ̄ba*, *tᵉ‘arqẹ̄b*, *am‘árqab*), p. 528 *sq.*—Simulated, and an instance of a real, sacrifice of a child, p. 529.—An unmarried daughter left as *‘ār* in a person's house, *ibid.*—Marriageable girls or young married women sent as *‘ār* to a tribe appealed to for help, p. 529 *sq.*—The *‘ār* resorted to for a variety of purposes, pp. 530-537.—In connection with a blood-feud and the monetary compensation for it, pp. 530-533.—As a method of putting a stop to a war between two tribes, p. 533.—Of bringing about a betrothal, *ibid.*—Of compelling a man to marry a woman who has run away from her husband and to compensate the abandoned husband, pp. 533-535.—The *‘ār* a great boon to strangers, pp. 535-537.—The duty of hospitality and its connection with the belief in the *‘ār* or similar ideas, pp. 537-549.—The fear of guests, p. 539 *sq.*—Reception ceremonies, p. 540.—A guest also a potential benefactor, p. 541 *sq.*—Hospitality a duty enjoined by religion, p. 542 *sq.*—The religious duty of helping suppliants and guests in ancient Arabia no doubt closely connected with magical beliefs similar to those prevalent in Morocco, pp. 543-545.—Additional support for this conclusion derived from other ancient countries, pp. 545-547.—The duty of hospitality limited to three days, p. 547.—The divine reward of generosity towards guests traced to their blessings, p. 548.—Reception ceremonies in the East, p. 548 *sq.*—Although the Moorish *‘ār* is rooted in ideas which prevailed in Arab antiquity and are found among the modern Arabs of the East, it has probably in a large measure an African foundation, p. 549 *sq.*—Certain cases of *‘ār* bearing a striking resemblance to practices found among African pagan peoples, p. 550 *sq.*—*‘Ār* thrown upon *jnūn*, p. 551.—Upon dead saints, pp. 551-561.—By an exclamation, p. 551.—By putting a stone or stones or something else on a cairn connected with a saint, p. 552.—By making a small pile of stones, p. 552 *sq.*—By tying rags, clothing, or hair to some object belonging to a *sīyid*, p. 553 *sq.*—By tying one's turban, p. 554 *sq.*—By knotting a cord in one's clothes, or the leaves of a palmetto or the stalks of white broom growing in the vicinity of a *sīyid*, p. 555.—Some of these practices also expected to make the petitioner profit by the *baraka* of the object with which he comes in contact, *ibid.*—Instances in which the idea of disease-transference is conspicuously present in his mind, p. 555 *sq.*—A fusion of different ideas also found in other methods of putting *‘ār* on saints, pp. 556-558.—The *‘ār* cast on a dead saint frequently consists of an animal sacrifice, p. 558.—Clothes sometimes left at a shrine as *‘ār* on the saint, p. 559.—The sanctuaries of saints places of refuge, pp. 559-561.—Mosques also asylums for refugees, p. 561.—Practices at least externally similar to those by which in Morocco *‘ār* is cast upon saints found in the East, pp. 561-563.—The custom of tying rags to trees said

000

to have existed among the ancient Libyans, p. 563.—The right of sanctuary in other Muhammadan countries and among ancient Semites, *ibid.*—The origin of the right of sanctuary, p. 563 *sq.*—The *'ahd* or *'áhăd*, pp. 564-569. —Definition of the term, p. 564.—Methods of making a promise very binding, p. 564 *sq.*—Covenanting by an exchange of turbans or cloaks, p. 565 *sq.*—By the joining of hands, p. 566 *sq.*—By eating together, p. 567. —A common meal may in any circumstances be a sort of *'ahd*, laying restraints on those who partake of it, p. 567 *sq.*—Rites of covenanting similar in principle to those practised in Morocco seem to have occurred in North Africa in very ancient times, p. 568.—A common meal an early method of sealing a compact among Semites, p. 568 *sq.*—Sacrifice establishing a covenant between God and man among the ancient Hebrews and Arabs, p. 569. —Criticism of Robertson Smith's views about methods of covenanting with the deity, *ibid.*

CHAPTER XI

WITCHCRAFT—HOMŒOPATHIC INFLUENCES—THE TRANSFERENCE OF EVIL

Terms for witchcraft and persons practising it, p. 570.—Witchcraft practised by the aid of *jnūn*, whose assistance is secured by writing their names, *ibid.*—Witchcraft by writing extensively indulged in by scribes, p. 570 *sq.* —Other kinds of witchcraft particularly practised by women, p. 571.—Sorcerous practices of a preventive character, belonging to the class of magic called *tᵉqāf*, pp. 571-576.—Practices intended to make men physically incapable of having sexual intercourse, pp. 571-573.—Remedies for such sexual incapacity, p. 573.—Mothers practising *tᵉqāf* to preserve the virtue of their unmarried daughters, p. 574.—The *tᵉqāf* practised for the purpose of preventing sexual intercourse often intended to do so by producing lack of inclination rather than physical incapacity, p. 574 *sq.*—Barrenness of women caused by *tᵉqāf*, p. 575 *sq.*—*Tᵉqāf* practised to prevent the delivery of a woman who is with child, p. 576.—To bewitch animals, *ibid.*—Witchcraft practised for the most diverse purposes, p. 577 *sq.*—Also without reference to any particular individual, p. 578 *sq.*—The precise meaning of the word *sḥŏr*, p. 579.—Meaning of the words *sǝḥḥâr* and *sǝḥḥâra*, *ibid.* —Of the word *ḥkîm*, p. 579 *sq.*—Homœopathic influences of many kinds, pp. 580-604.—Practices by which men strengthen their sexual power, p. 581.—Homœopathic rites at weddings intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, pp. 581-583.—Homœopathic rites practised at weddings and on other occasions with a view to making the wife fruitful and, particularly, a mother of male offspring, pp. 583-585.—The sex of an animal's young influenced by the sex of a person, p. 586.—The belief in a homœopathic influence upon the sex of a child traceable in some cases of divination, *ibid.*—Pregnancy suggested by a sty, *ibid.*—An unborn child subject to other homœopathic influences besides such as affect its sex, p. 586 *sq.*—Homœopathic magic practised at weddings for a variety of purposes, pp. 587-589.—To make the marriage union durable, p. 587 *sq.*—To give the husband power over his wife and the wife power over her husband, p. 588.—To make the bridegroom a loving husband, p. 588 *sq.*—To make the couple prosperous, p. 589.—Homœopathic practices intended to increase the supply of food, pp. 589-593.—Various ways of turning the principle that "like produces like" into economic advantage, p. 593.—Effects ascribed to sweeping and to the broom, pp.

000 593-596.—Beliefs and practices relating to slippers, p. 596 *sq.*—Homœopathic influence of empty vessels or saddles or other empty things, p. 597 *sq.* —Homœopathic practices relating to domestic animals, p. 598 *sq.*—Prison magic, p. 599 *sq.*—Schoolboy customs, p. 600 *sq.*—Children's games, p. 601 *sq.*—Death supposed to be caused or foreboded by something suggestive of it, p. 602 *sq.*—Events indicating a long life, p. 603.—Dangerous to talk about illness or other disagreeable things, p. 603 *sq.*—The spoken word bringing about its own realisation, p. 604.—In other cases supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to, p. 604 *sq.*—A disease or some other evil not only communicated by infection, but actually transferred from the person suffering from it to another person or an animal or an inanimate thing, so that the sufferer himself gets rid of it, pp. 605-607.—The transference of fatigue, p. 606 *sq.*—The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by killing it, p. 607.—The slaughter of an animal may save the lives of other animals, *ibid.*—But the *bas* of a person may also pass into another person or an animal or a thing without any act of transference, as in the case of the death of an infant or an animal or in the case of the accidental breaking of an object, p. 607 *sq.*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG. PAGE 000
1. Sîdi ʿAbdsslam l-Baqqâli in Andjra 2
2. Scribe from Fez (my secretary) 3
3. College student in Fez 5
4. My travelling companions 7
5. Berber from the Rîf 9
6. Berbers from the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi 11
7. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi 13
8. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi 15
9. In Dukkâla 17
10. Boy in the Ġarbîya 18
11. Country schoolboys 19
12. Village in the Faḥṣ (Northern Morocco) 21
13. Mountain village in the neighbourhood of Tetuan 23
14. The cottage at Ḍâr l-Ḥjar in Andjra in which I was staying . . 25
15. Arab village seen at a distance 27
16. Arab village 29
17. Mosque in an Arab village 30
18. Among the Aiṭ Yúsi 31
19. Huts in the neighbourhood of Marráksh 32
20. Market outside Amzmiz 33
21. *Qóbba* outside Alcazar 52
22. The *qóbba* of Sîdi ʿAbdúllah t-Tᵉâudi outside Bâb g-Gîsa at Fez . 53
23. The *qóbba* and mosque of Sîdi Mḥámmed ben lâ-Ḥsen outside Bâb g-Gîsa at Fez 53
24. The *bîtᵉ* of Sîdi Bujîda outside Fez 54
25. The *ḥauš* of Sîdi Berdélla outside Bâb g-Gîsa at Fez . . . 55
26. *Ḥauš* in the Faḥṣ 55
27. *Ḥauš* in the Ḥloṭ 56
28. Cairn outside Fez 57
29. Cairns on the road to Fez 57
30. Cairn on the road between Tangier and Tetuan 58

OCC

FIG. PAGE
31. Saintly cairn with a flag-staff 58
32. Whitewashed saintly cairn outside Tangier 59
33. Whitewashed rock at ‘Ain ben ‘Ămár 61
34. Holy rapid in Asif n Sîdi Nâṣăr u Mhâṣăr 67
35. *Talġomt* or *n-nâga* near Sîdi Yáḥya 70
36. *Sîyîd* with a tree, in the Ḫloṭ 76
37. Lâlla Tᵉuglḫâir, on the top of a hill outside Demnat . . . 81
38. Sîdi Ḥbîb’s mountain seen from the Ġarbîya 83
39. Lâlla Tákĕrkust 86
40. L-Máqṭa‘ outside Fez 284
41. Cairn at l-Máqṭa‘ 284
42. Imi n Taqqándut 286
43-70. Charms and designs from Morocco 449-453
71-73. Figures on Punic monuments 453
74-121. Charms and designs from Morocco 454-467
122-127. Figures on Punic monuments 468-474
128. Small piles of stones in the Great Atlas 552
129. Lotus tree outside the *qóbba* of Sîdi ‘Âli Bŭġâleb in Fez . . 553

PLATE

(Between pages 452 and 453)

NO.
1. Embroidery.
2 and 3. Brass hands from which lamps are suspended.
4. Dagger from the Rîf.
5-7. Bags.
8. Saddle- or horse-cloth from Glawi.
9. Berber rug.
10. Dagger from the Great Atlas.

INTRODUCTION

THE Muhammadan natives of Morocco are chiefly of 101
Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the
arrival of the Arabs was spread over the whole country, has 191
in a large part of it been superseded by the tongue of the invaders. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term " Berber " is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called by themselves Irifīyẹn and in Arabic Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast between a line about forty miles south-east of Tetuan and the neighbourhood of the Algerian frontier ; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range ; the Shłöḥ, or Išelḥīn as they call themselves, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the neighbourhood of Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain ; and the Drâwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wād Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. A fifth group consists of various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-eastern corner of the country. All the Berber-speaking people are called by a Berber name Imazīġĕn.

This division into groups is based not only on geo- 197
graphical but also on linguistic considerations. The dialects of the tribes belonging to the same group have greater

197 resemblance than those spoken within different groups, which may differ greatly both in their words and sounds. A Rifian told me that when he heard the talk of Brâber or Shlöḥ he could only recognise a few of the words, while a Berber from the south, who had travelled much, said that he could understand the Brâber with difficulty, but the Rifians not at all. There is, however, no sharp line of demarcation between the dialects of the southern and central Berbers, as there is no very definite geographical border between those people; whereas the dialectic differences inside the latter group may

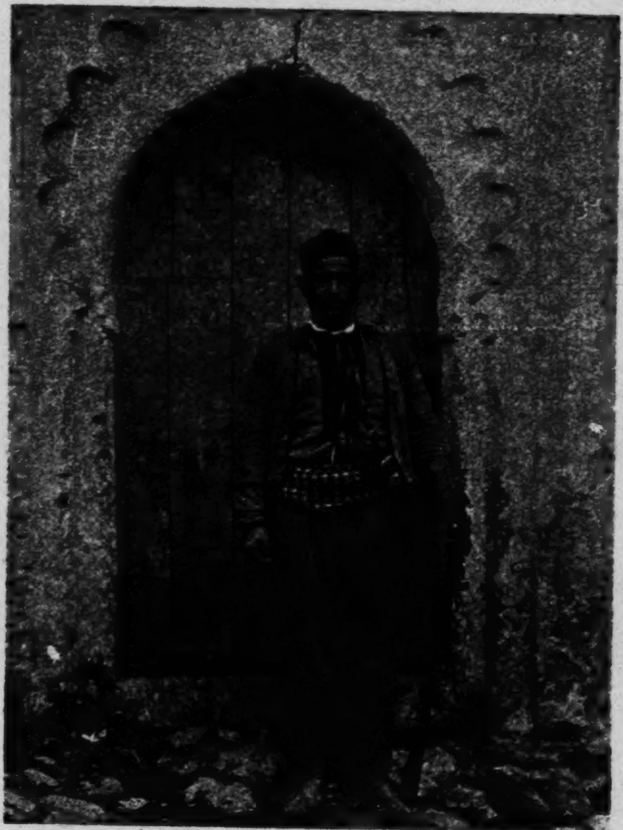

FIG. 1.—Sîdi 'Abdsslam l-Bāqqâli in Andjra.

be quite considerable. The language even of neighbouring tribes, like the Aiṯ Sáddĕn and the Ait Waráin, may differ so much in its vocabulary and phonetics that a member of the one tribe sometimes finds it difficult to understand a member of the other, and, as I have tested myself, is unable to imitate certain sounds of his dialect. The dialects of the Rīf[1] also present more dissimilarities than the Shelḥa, the language of the Shlōḥ, which is comparatively homogeneous, phonetically as well as otherwise. Yet in every Berber tribe there are linguistic peculiarities, which may be quite notable even inside the same tribe. The explanation of the remarkable differentiation of the Berber language is not far to seek. It

FIG. 2.—Scribe from Fez (my secretary).

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[1] See Biarnay, *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif* (Paris, 1917).

197 lies partly in the complete absence of a written standard, and partly in the vastness of the territory inhabited by the Berbers and the lack of contact between the different groups or even sections of the same group.[1]

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the ʿArab (" Arabs "), who inhabit most of the plains; the Jbâla (" mountaineers ") who inhabit the mountain region extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the neighbourhood of Fez and to the west and south of the Rīf; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as " Moors ", although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammadan population of Morocco in general. The dialectic differences of the Arabic of Morocco are infinitely smaller than those of the Berber idioms. The pronunciation of ت and ث as *ts* (*t^s*) in Northern Morocco and of ق (Moorish ڧ) as *g* among the ʿArab is particularly conspicuous.

191 Although Arabic is spoken over a much smaller area of the country than Berber, it is nevertheless the dominant language, being that of the Government and administration, the religious creed, and the higher culture. Berber is despised as a barbarous jargon. There is an Arabic saying, *Lá-ʿsel ma hûwa idạm, l-bĕšna ma hîya ṭăʿâm, š-šĕlḥa ma hîya klạm*, " Honey is not grease, durra is not food, Shelḥa is not a language ". The Berbers themselves look upon their language as much inferior to Arabic, and those who have learned Arabic—many of them are bilingual—are often ashamed of speaking their mother-tongue. More than once I noticed the glad surprise shown by my Berber teachers at the interest I took in it, and their answers were in the beginning not infrequently accompanied with a friendly smile.[2] But although the Berbers respect the Arabic language, they do not like the ʿArab. The Shlōḥ accuse

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[1] For the classification and mutual relations of the Berber dialects of Morocco *cf.* Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilḥischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 3 *sq.*; Laoust, ' Coup d'œil sur les Études dialectales berbères au Maroc', in *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1920), p. 117 *sqq.*; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), p. 51 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Basset, *op. cit.* p. 34 *sq.*

The Shlch accuse

them[1] of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them 191
izakārn (Iglíwa) or *izākârĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; 186
the Aiṯ Sáddĕn call them *iḫššóḏĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

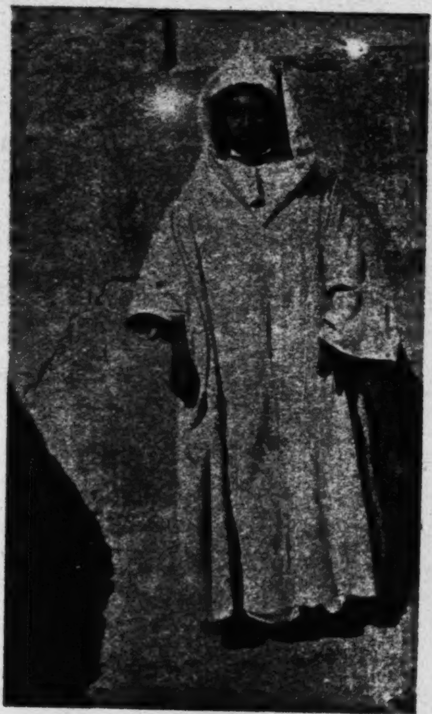

FIG. 3.—College student in Fez.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only
an indication of language, not of race. There can be no 191
doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in 175

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[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

1/A [i.e. The Arabs. - Analyst]

Morocco are purely or essentially Berber by origin. The number of Arab immigrants from the East can only have been comparatively small. Those who came there as conquerors at the end of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century were only a handful of people. The chief invasion took place in the eleventh century, when several Bedouin tribes settled down in Barbary. Ibn ar-Raqīq estimated the number of these invaders at more than a million persons of both sexes and the number of combatants at fifty thousand;[1] but it seems that his estimates are considerably exaggerated.[2] In any case the invaders were spread over a large area, from Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, and we may presume that only a minority of them reached Morocco.[3] An anthropological investigation of over eight thousand natives of Eastern Barbary has led Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre to the conclusion that the number of Arab immigrants has always been insufficient to impress their type on the mass of the people, and that "the so-called Arab tribes of North Africa present the same somatic characteristics as other tribes which are incontestably Berbers".[4] It seems that among the tribes of Morocco north of the Great Atlas range a fair quantity of Arab blood may be found chiefly in those living between Alcazar and Laraiche and between the rivers Bū Ragrág and Úmm r-Rbēʿ and a little farther south, whereas the other Arabic-speaking tribes mostly consist of Arabised Berbers who have changed their language.[5] I desire to emphasise that in speaking of "Arabs" in Morocco I simply make use of a term by which the people themselves denote the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the plains, while by "Berbers" I mean Berber-speaking people.

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[1] Ibn ar-Raqīq, quoted by Marmol Caravajal, *L'Afrique*, i. (Paris, 1677), p. 275; and by Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by J. Pory (London, 1896), p. 139.

[2] G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), pp. 113, 733.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 515 *sq.*

[4] Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), pp. 347, 358.

[5] See Marçais, *op. cit.* map.

The various groups of tribes, Berber and Arabic-speaking, 184 have also more or less their peculiar customs and mode of life, but to what extent this is the case cannot, of course, be discussed in the present connection. At the same time there may also be a greater resemblance in customs between Arabs and Berbers living in the same neighbourhood than between tribes belonging to the same group. As the dwellings of the people will be frequently referred to in the descriptions of their rites or customs, it may be well to know that the Jbâla, the Rifians, and the Shlöḥ live in houses, that most of the Arabs and the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Ujda live in tents, and that among the Brâber some tribes live in houses and others in tents or both in houses and tents. There were nomadic Berbers living in tents before the arrival of the Bedouins.[1]

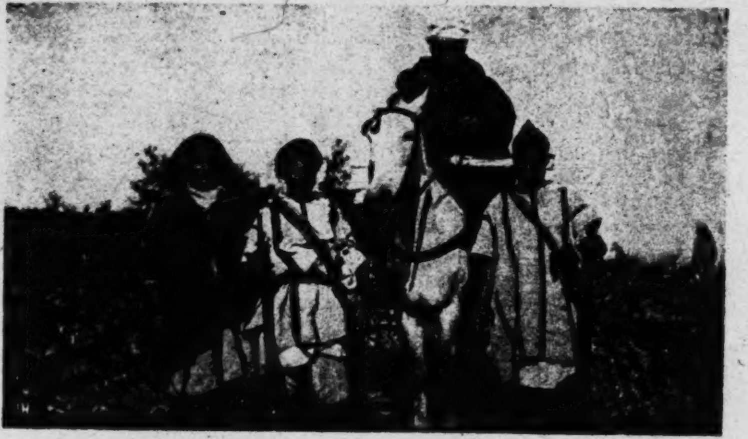

FIG. 4.—My travelling companions: a Rifian (left), Sîdi ʻAbdsslam (mounted), and two Jbâla from Andjra.

I have during my journeys to Morocco studied the 128 customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, with the exception of the Drâwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure sufficiently trustworthy information. In this book

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[1] Ibn Ḫaldûn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by Baron de Slane, i. (Alger, 1852), pp. 167, 177.

128 the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Aiṭ Wāryâġer and Ait Temsâmān; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi; the Brâber by the Aiṭ Sáddĕn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḍĕr, and Aiṭ Mjilḍ; the Shlōḥ by the Iglíwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marráksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs; the Arabs by the natives of the Ġarbîya to the south of Tangier, the Mnáṣâra and Beni Ăḥsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulâd Bû'âzîz and Ulâd Fṛaj in Dukkâla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Ḥiáina in the neighbourhood of Fez; the Jbâla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Ḥbīb and the Bni 'Ăroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

121 In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to
121 use information given me about a tribe by members of other
124 tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details

is remarkable ; and the patience of many of my teachers has been beyond praise.

In my study of the various rites I have not been content with ascertaining the bare external facts, but have, so far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying them The reader will find that the explanations given by the natives themselves are not always alike. The reason for this

FIG. 5.—Berber from the Rif.

is probably that the real origin of the rite has been partly or wholly forgotten, and a new interpretation substituted for the idea from which it sprung. It is well known that rites are very apt to survive the ideas in which they have originated. This, however, should not make the field-ethnologist less eager to find out the present meaning attached to the facts he records ; for whether or no it be the original meaning, it gives us in any case some insight into the ideas of existing people, and these are by themselves important subjects of inquiry. But I maintain that the aim of the field-ethnologist should not be only to observe and describe. Where the meaning of a custom is obscure or lost, his general knowledge of the native mind and its ways of thinking and feeling ought to enable him to make valuable conjectures. I thoroughly disagree with the principle which I once heard expressed by the reader of a paper on some savage tribes at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, that the field-ethnologist should only aim at collecting facts and leave it to the ethnologists at home to explain them. But he must, of course, take the utmost care to avoid mixing up his own interpretations of facts with the observed facts themselves. This is a rule which I have strictly followed. While all explanations given without any qualification are statements expressly made by my native informants, or are directly implied in their statements, those suggested by myself are invariably, in some way or other, marked as my own interpretations.

The difficulties in finding the ultimate psychological origins of rites are frequently increased by the obscurity of their historical origins. A custom may spring up spontaneously among a certain people or tribe, or it may be imported from some other people or community ; and to be complete, the study of it must be concerned not only with its intrinsic meaning but also with the question whether it has a native origin or not, and, in the latter case, from where it has been introduced. This study of its history is often beset with difficulties, which indeed may be unsurmountable. It requires a profound knowledge not only of the customs of the ethnic group which is the subject of the investigation but of those of other people with whom it has come in contact; and even with such a knowledge it may in many cases be impossible to decide with certainty whether we have to do with a loan or not. Considering how often absolutely identical customs are found among races living in very different parts of the world, in circumstances which seem to exclude all possibility of a common origin, we have to take account of the fact that such customs may also have grown up among peoples who are of the same stock or have come into contact with one another. Indeed, the more similar two peoples are, the greater is the probability that new details in their culture may also resemble each other; from seeds of the same kind very similar plants spring up. I have been very conscious of these difficulties in my attempt to trace the historical origin of rites and beliefs recorded in the present work. In many cases it has been quite easy to accomplish, but in others it has only resulted in more or less plausible conjectures; and frequently I have been obliged to abstain from any such attempt, because I have found it a hopeless task.

FIG. 6.—Berbers from the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi.

The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences 000

177 The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences from various quarters. The latest, and from the point of view of religion greatest, wave of this kind came with the Arabic invasions, which brought to them Islam. And hand in hand with the rites and doctrines of their religion the Arabs introduced other customs and beliefs, even such as were actually forbidden by it; a rite of this kind is presumably the irreligious lamentations and self-lacerations of the female mourners which are practised by some of the Berbers, as well as by the Arabs.[1] The Bedouins who settled down on the plains of Morocco in the eleventh century were themselves very imperfectly Islamised, and their impiety and cynicism sometimes scandalised even the native inhabitants of the country;[2] yet they may have influenced the latter's customs and beliefs. The resemblances in these respects between the Berbers, as well as Arabs of Morocco, and the Arabs of the East, many of which will be pointed out on subsequent pages, are so manifold, even in little details, that we may assume a considerable Arab influence falling outside the pale of Islam. But on the other hand it is certain that many of these resemblances are *not* due to such influence; various forms of nature-worship may serve as an instance of this. Owing to our very deficient knowledge of the ancient Berbers, however, it is frequently impossible to say what is Arab by origin and what is Berber, and it may be futile even to make a conjecture on this point. We have, moreover, to take note of the fact that some similarities between the natives of Morocco and Arabic-speaking people of the East may have been caused by a common participation in an ancient Mediterranean culture. Instances of this will, for example, be found in the chapters on the evil eye, the agricultural rites, and the funeral and mourning ceremonies.

There has also been a Negro influence, which among the Berbers of the South no doubt commenced at a very early period when the southern border of their territory was more northerly than it is now,[3] and which has been maintained in later times through the influx of Negro slaves. This influence is very conspicuous in the rites of the Gnâwa,[1] and will probably prove to have had a considerably larger scope than is known at present.[2]

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[1] *Infra*, ii. 494 *sq*.

[2] Marçais, *op. cit.* p. 713 *sq*.

[3] R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, quoted by van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (Paris, 1920), p. 257 *sq*.

Several writers have perceived in certain Berber customs traces of Christian beliefs.[3] Christianity entered North Africa at an early date, and in the time of the Arab invasions there were a number of Christianised Berber tribes.[4] In Morocco Christian Berbers are said to have existed more than a century after the appearance of Islam, when Mûlâi Idrîs subdued the last Berbers in that country who still remained " Christians, Jews, or idolaters ".[5] It does not seem, however, that Christianity ever gained any considerable hold of the Berbers. In more recent times there were settlements

FIG. 7.—Among the Aiṭ Yúsi.

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[1] *Infra*, i. 379 *sqq*. See also *infra*, i. 381 *sq*.

[2] On this subject *cf*. van Gennep, *op. cit*. p. 257 *sqq*.

[3] See Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire* (London, 1899), p. 309 *sq*.; *Idem*, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 395.

[4] Joannes Abbas, ' Chronicon ', in Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, lxxii. (Parisiis, 1849), col. 866; Abû 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, ed. and trans. by Tornberg (Upsaliae, 1843), p. 15; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *op. cit*. i. 177, 207, 209; Leo Africanus, *op. cit*. i. 163.

[5] *Raôḍ al-Qarṭâs*, trans. by Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 16.

177 of Christian slaves, who are supposed to have left some impress on the native population.[1] But the conjectured survivals of a Christian influence are anyhow exceedingly scanty. The supposition that the cross in modern Berber tattooing and ornamentation is a relic of this kind is the more unwarranted since the cross is also seen as an ornament in the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans;[2] but the case is different with the Sunday rest observed by the women of some Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez.[3] According to Leo Africanus it was the custom in Fez to eat certain dainties on Christmas eve;[4] but I was told that no such custom exists there at present.

Ancient Roman influence is conspicuous in certain rites;[5] and in one or two cases I think I have identified traces of the religion of Carthage, due to the Punic colonisation.[6] Resemblances have been found between the religion of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Libyans, including the Berbers of the West, but there have been different opinions as to their explanation.[7] Such likenesses are not necessarily due to Egyptian influence. Mr. Bates suggests that, just as a definite Libyan element is knit into the Egyptian language, so there are, in all probability, Libyan elements in the Egyptian religion.[8]

171 Finally it should be noticed that a very large number of rites and beliefs in Morocco are identical with, or very similar to, rites and beliefs found on the other side of the Mediterranean. Many such cases will be mentioned in the present work, but its scope does not allow an adequate discussion of this vast and difficult subject. The similarities may be partly due to "the like working of men's minds under like conditions" (as Tylor put it[9]), but largely also

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[1] Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 309 *sq*.

[2] *Infra*, i. 451 *sq*.

[3] *Infra*, i. 134, 226.

[4] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 452 *sq*. *Cf.* Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 519; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 373 *sq*.

[5] *Infra*, ii. 153 *sqq*.

[6] *Infra*, i. 395 *sq*.

[7] *Infra*, i. 100 *sq*. *Cf.* ii. 86, 253.

[8] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 207.

[9] Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (London, 1878), p. 5.

to the contact of peoples or to a common descent. The 171
Berbers are generally considered to belong to a northern branch of the Hamitic stock, though the opinion has been expressed [1] that they are not Hamites by race but conquerors of the Hamitic aborigines of North Africa who adopted the language of the conquered. In any case it seems difficult 142
to doubt that a very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers are members of a race which was once spread over the Mediterranean basin, and which has been called the Mediterranean race, whatever the origin of this race may be. It is characterised by black hair and brown eyes; but among the Berbers there is also an appreciable element of blondness. In Morocco blond people are in fact very frequent among the Rifians [2] and by no means rare among the Brâber [3] and the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas; and there are such people in the

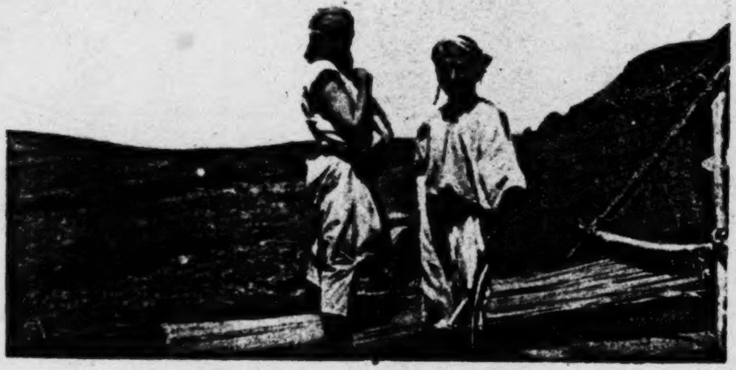

FIG. 8.—Among the Aiţ Yúsi.

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[1] Lissauer, 'Archäologische und anthropologische Studien über die Kabylen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl. (Berlin, 1908), p. 527.

[2] See also Mrs. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay* (London, 1896), p. 153; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc* (*1899–1901*) (Paris, 1903), p. 47; de la Martinière, *Morocco: Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan* (London, 1889), p. 69.

[3] See also de Segonzac, *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166, 229. According to Harris (*Tafilet* [Edinburgh & London, 1895], p. 159), there are some blue-eyed persons among the Drâwa.

142 mountains of Algeria as well.[1] This blondness among the Berbers has been explained in different ways.[2] It has been attributed to immigration from Europe. The invasion of the Vandals would of course be quite insufficient to account for it, since blond people are known to have existed in North Africa long before their arrival ;[3] but it is supposed that at a much earlier time an immigration took place from the north of Europe, the land of the blonds, across the Straits of Gibraltar.[4] This hypothesis is based partly on the fact that a large agglomeration of blonds is only found in that region of the world, and partly on the occurrence of dolmens in a continuous line from the shore of the Baltic to Tunis which are considered to mark the path of the migration. According to another theory, the blondness is, largely at least, indigenous to Africa, being due to the influence of external conditions, more particularly to that of altitude,[5] or to spontaneous variation of unknown origin.[6] The problem cannot be regarded as definitely solved ; but I believe that most students of racial biology would nowadays favour the idea of the infusion of foreign blood as the cause of the blondness.

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[1] Randall-Maciver and Wilkin, *Libyan Notes* (London, 1901), pp. 29, 30, 97 *sq.* ; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* pp. 518, 525 ; Steensby, 'Nogle etnografiske Iakttagelser fra en Rejse i Algier og Tunis 1908', in *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, xx. (Kjøbenhavn, 1909–10), p. 68 ; Hilton-Simpson, 'The Influence of its Geography on the People of the Aures massif, Algeria', in *The Geographical Journal*, lix. (London, 1922), p. 23.

[2] See also Topinard, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Deuxième partie : Instructions particulières', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 645 *sq.* ; Ripley, *The Races of Europe* (London, 1900), p. 279.

[3] Bates, *op. cit.* p. 39 *sqq.* ; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. (Berlin, 1917), p. 622 n. 1.

[4] Faidherbe, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Première partie : Considérations générales', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 605 *sq.* ; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* p. 526 *sq.* ; Mehlis, 'Die Berberfrage', in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, new ser. vol. viii. (Braunschweig, 1909), p. 285 ; Schrader, 'Le Maghreb', in *Revue anthropologique*, xxiii. (Paris, 1913), p. 83.

[5] Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race* (London, 1901), p. 74 *sq.* ; Ripley, *op. cit.* p. 280.

[6] Steensby, *loc. cit.* p. 68.

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CHAPTER I

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

778 792 196 The Arabic word *baraka* means "blessing". In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses *baraka* in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint".

[36] The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as *ssiyid*, *ssaleh*, and *lwali*; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is *amrabad* or *amrabd* (plur. *imrabden*; Ait Waryager, Temsaman, At Ubahti, Ait Sadden), derived from the Arabic *mrabat* or *mrabt*, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants.

[62] It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word *siyid* is applied to a place where a saint is [63] buried, whether it be indicated by a *qobba* or *bit* or *haus* or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the *mzara* or *halwa* of the *siyid* So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are *fqer* (Dukkala), *agurram* (Shloh), and *amrabd* or *amrabad* (Ait Sadden, Temsaman, Ait Waryager).

[64] The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his *horm* or *harm*, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The *horm* may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it.

[65] A still more comprehensive term than *horm* is *zawia* (Berb. *zzawit* [Shloh], *zzawit* [Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager], *zzaust* [Temsaman]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his *zawia*.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints.

411 Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have
[842] cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want
[755] to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with
755 saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.
[825 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as
782] the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. The patient goes there, without
being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws
bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time
observing absolute silence; and [81] he then proceeds to the shrine,
where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning.
On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a
goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons
who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water
seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, like-
wise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 842] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her
body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from
marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of break-
ing the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much
776 baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef.
778 It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106]
778 vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case
241 with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber
778 idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be
so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall
be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same
species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the
smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large
number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or
medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura
(Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura,
sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been
gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has
made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain
one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons
suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or,
on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame.
A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
[842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in
the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the
morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro;
Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women
suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot
seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to
the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which
the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the
thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

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778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites
in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab.
khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait
Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably
come from the East.

[114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
778 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa],
823 tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager],
tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to
animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm
mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man
himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own
mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting
them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish
you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on
the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[776] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the
masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns
earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never
succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives
blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[772] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish
is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the
wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is
only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull
changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been
imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and
causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world,
though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many
which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are
directly said to have baraka.

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[755] Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are /116/ alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif /Ait Yusi/, zarif /Ait Waryager/), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 /117/ The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

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775 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 /118/ There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman /Igliwa/, usm, plur. usmăn /Ait Sadden/, lbraq /Ait Warain/, rabraq /Ait Waryager/, rabroq /Temsaman/).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig /Igliwa/, tig nau /Ait Sadden/, tijnau /Ait Warain/, ajjar /Ait Waryager/, ajjaj /Temsaman/) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

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783 /119/ The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt /Igliwa/, tafuht /Ait Sadden/, tfust /Ait Warain/, tfust /Temsaman/, dfuit /Ait Waryager/) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

821 for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure
783 himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun
may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the [120] sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head.
You should never point at the sun.

821 I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among
the Shlöh of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Ait Waryager and
Temsaman said that they had never heard of anything of the kind
among their own people.

821 [121] The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called suratu s-sams,
789 "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun
and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in m[illegible]c rites. In
Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons
approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs;
in the latter case every word ending with aha is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Ait Waryager a
band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to
give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said surah on a
piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which
his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the
animals.

821 [123] An eclipse of the sun (kusuf) is supposed to indicate that the
787 Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Ait Sadden,
Ait Warain), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Hiaina,
Temsaman), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or
generally that some evil will befall the world (Igliwa, Ait Waryager).
These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also
probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did
among the Arabs.

821 [124] The moon (Arab. qamar, qmar, or gamra; Berb. aiyur
789 [Igliwa], ayur [Ait Sadden], yur [Ait Warain], daziri [Ait Waryager],
taziri [Temsaman]) receives more attention than the sun. In all
parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new
moon (Arab. s-shar, or l-hilal; Berb. yur [Temsaman]). In Andjra
the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it
towards the moon, saying, Siyibna 'alik l-hadura ma t wurrina la
sarr wa la drura, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either
or harm". He then makes fat ha, reciting perhaps a few passages

821 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah
789 itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum;
789 Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran
778 or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

778 372 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[755] [132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 778 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direction of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[833] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 772 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology, as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 778 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [534] [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 796 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners. To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and [illegible]idays.

776 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each
778 other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall
[681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is whole-
515 some to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same
789 vessel as has been previously use[illegible] a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a
778 wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with
[754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

[789] Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

776 755 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a protection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plat[illegible] water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu con-
[224] sider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

784 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he
778 gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe
834 their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious
784 to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because
778 during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its
778 impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean;
782 hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil
272 eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

784 272 A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from jnun (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk is given to a neighbor he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Temsaman). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, At Ubahti). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against [754] the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are [244] carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Ait Nder), or not between enemies (Ait Waryager). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain [432] circumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden (Temsaman): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulad Bu aziz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Warain). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marraksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his amin,

784 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a per-
272 son receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and
if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be
296 squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to
dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the
262 prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-
432 speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by sell-
689 ing bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I
was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

778 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but
784 also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the
[783] fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain
from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque,

778 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is
821 shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm
loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

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821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

[258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti). [252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

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776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

776 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

776 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or, generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

776 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

776 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not
264 allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for
514 food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are
753 Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic
372 l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Shelha], almssi [Ait Sadden],
513 tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Warain], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining
372 makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

776 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are *jnun*
372 at the door (Ait Waryager).

[295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody
373 blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his
face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house,
776 namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold
784 of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he
would become ill himself or give *bas* to the dwelling. So also it
would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should
pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis,
[585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride
enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that
"she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the
house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and
indeed every place, has its *jenn*-owners: *kull mahall be mwalih.*
These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic *mwalin
le-mkan* (*mwalin l-mkan*), in Berber *ayitbab umhan* (Ait Waryager)
or *idbab w wansa* (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place",
in Arabic *rijal le-mkan*, in Berber *ait lmakan* (Shelha) or *ait udgar*
(Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic *mwalin d-dar*, in
Berber [296] *lemluk n tgimmi* (Aglu). If the masters of the house are
good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes
or soon die. These *jnun* are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and
by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the
late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain
in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after *asar.*

802 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor,
784 taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving
away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after *asar* or between
[264] *asar* and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they
do, *jnun* may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over
night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait
Waryager).

784 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water
776 which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to
272 prevent *jnun* from drinking of it.

784 776 515 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama qalil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [300] budaddis); and if he has his head [302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before crossing. [513] In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 372 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 789 [302] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [ie water kept indoors overnight. —Analyst]

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] /304/ Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

/305/ For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

/307/ The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

/308/ The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] /309/ Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

776 *jnun* but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with *jnun* weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to *baraka* there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. *Sayatin,* if not Muhammadan *jnun,* are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the *baraka*
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a
horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil
spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are
ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have *baraka,*
they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at
night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off *jnun* is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are
found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, be-
sides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house
is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When
the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place,
a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are
also in some cases made before the building commences and after it
is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one,
the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears
another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a
goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are *ar* upon the *ayitbab* *umhan,*
and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking
the workmen.

776 [324] When a *jenn* or *jnun* have actually got hold of a person,
755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic
practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by *jnun,* and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

776 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag)
755 mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person
789 who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called
781 dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

776 She speaks gently to people and thus allures them to come to her, but at the same time she is very dangerous: when she has got hold of a person she kills and eats him.

[398] A *jenniya* of the same type is Sbuha, mentioned to me by a scribe from the Ait Waryager. She appears sometimes as a woman and at other times as a she-animal—a mule or donkey or bitch—or in any shape she pleases. Her breasts and lower lip are very long and pendant. She lives in some desert place, from which she comes and frightens people; and those who see her go mad. I have also heard of her at Tangier.

The Gola is the Gule or Gul mentioned in old Arabic literature and Arabic tales as the name for a female demon of a most dangerous disposition, who is fond of eating men; the word comes from a root signifying "to destroy", perhaps originally "to assault". She passes a solitary existence in the deserts, or lies in wait at some place where men are destined to perish; thus she appears to persons travelling alone in the night, and being supposed by them to be herself a traveller, lures them out of their way. She not only converses with the travellers, but sometimes prostitutes herself to them. She has the power of changing her shape. She may appear in the role of a young wife who gives a sleeping-draught to her husband, or as a girl weeping on the roadside. But usually she is described as an ugly woman with [399] long pendant breasts, which she sometimes throws back over her shoulders, or as a hideous monster with the feet of an ass or with hairy skin resembling that of a dog.

[404] Among the Berbers there is the belief in a female demon who lives in cemeteries. The Ait Waryager maintain that [405] every cemetery has a *dajennit*, or *jenniya*, who appears in the evening in the shape of a mule and therefore is called *dasardund*, or "mule". She is very seldom seen, but several persons have heard her voice, which is like that of an ordinary mule, and the rattling noise of something made of silver or iron which she carries round her neck. It is a bad omen to see or hear her: it means illness or madness or death.

[406] The most famous of all *jnun* is Sitan (s-Sitan, s-Sitan, s-Sitan, s-Seitan; I shall use the form Sitan, without the definite article, as I heard the name being used in Fez) or Iblis (Iblis, Yeblis), that is, Satan or the devil, who is [407] regarded as the chief of the evil *jnun*—the *sayatin* or *ibales*.

776 Sitan is everywhere, except in mosques. He may assume all sorts of shapes, hence he has gained the epithet abribas, or "vari-coloured". But at the same time a few definite bodily characteristics are given to him. He has seven hairs on his chin, and is blind in the right eye. It was put out by Siyidna Idris, the prophet, who was a tailor. Sitan once came to him with an egg in his hand and told him that God had shaped the world like an egg. Siyidna Idris was enraged by this blasphemous talk and answered, "No, God made the world like the eye of this needle, look here". When Sitan looked at the needle the prophet thrust it into his eye. An old scribe told me that Sitan has a penis on the inner side of his right thigh and a vulva on the inner side of his left; to produce offspring he needs therefore only to close his thighs, and this he does all day long, which explains why there are so many sayatin in the world. But from other scribes I hear that Sitan has a wife by name Sitanah (s-Sitana, s-Seitana) or Sa dana.

Sitan is the great tempter. He induces people to refrain from praying, from reciting the Koran, from fasting in Ramadan, from giving alms, and from fulfilling other duties prescribed by God. He makes men and women indulge in lustfulness, tempts brothers to have illicit intercourse with their sisters, causes quarrels between husbands and wives, incites men to fight and curse and kill each other. He finds pleasure in seeing people do what is hateful to God. He rejoices when a man dies unmarried, and weeps when a young man takes to himself a wife. If anybody pollutes a mosque or uses unclean liquid for his ablutions, or treats the Koran disrespectfully, he may be sure to gain Iblis' favour. Sitan is anxious to enter into the bodies of men through their [408] mouth or nostrils or ears or eyes, to induce them to do wrong. If a person behaves badly it is said that he has Sitan in him, fih s-sitan, or that he is himself Sitan; and bad people are called sayatin. They are even worse than Sitan: — S-sitan men j-jenn ula s-sitan men bnadem, or, L-wuswas ("the tempter") men l-jenn wala men bnadem.

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767 Sitan makes himself unpleasant to men in many ways. He inflames them with anger and inspires them with fear. He deceives them with false dreams. If a person omits saying his evening prayer his dreams will not be trustworthy, because they are sent by Sitan (Fez). In the first ploughing season dreams are not to be trusted (Shiadma, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder), because Sitan turns them topsy-turvy as the plough turns the earth (Tangier).

776 789 224 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, *Allah in'al ssitan rharami*, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the *jnun* the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—*L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar*; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—*N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain*; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—*L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor* (Fez), or *L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor* (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust)
[822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm
against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must
[585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco,
which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

796 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a
754 silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family
301 who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait
789 Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with
such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

527 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or
578 tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to
266 be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rif [illegible] to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to re-
578 frain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

789 [519] I have even heard the belief that it is dangerous for a person to induce another to grant a request by casting 'ar[1] on him, since in such a case the curse is likely to affect the petitioner and not the individual appealed to (Ait Waryager).

627 728 [522] A refugee places himself in the 'ar of a woman by touching her or sucking her breast (Hiaina, Ait Nder, Aglu, Igliwa)—by which he becomes as it were her son—or by sitting down in front of her or going behind her or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill (Ait Waryager); her husband or family will then have to help him, and if the woman with whom he seeks refuge is the pursuer's own wife, the persecution must cease.

[532] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager, if a manslayer who is pursued by the relatives of his victim takes refuge in somebody's house and seizes hold of the handmill, he is in the 'ar of the mistress of the household, who is the owner of the handmill; then the pursuers must stop firing and the inhabitants of the house are obliged to protect him and to take him in safety back to his own house. On the other hand, a person who has to avenge the death of a relative may induce the owner of a house in which he takes refuge to assist him in taking revenge by offering him some money, which, if accepted, is looked upon as 'ar. If one of their villages has been beaten in a blood-feud with another village and desires to make peace, some of its men go at night to the enemy's village with a sheep or a goat, which they kill outside the yard of the mosque and then throw into the yard. When the dead [533] animal is found there in the morning by the people of the village, they understand from whom it has come and send the schoolmaster to the enemy, who now expresses a wish to put an end to the hostilities. Some men from a third village are called to act as peace-makers, and blood-money—some thirty or forty dollars—is paid for the manslaughter which was the cuase of the feud. It may be added that the animal which was sacrificed as 'ar is only eaten by scribes who are not natives of the village in which it was killed, no native partaking of its meat. So also the Rifians have recourse to 'ar to put a stop to a war between two different tribes. Some men of the vanquished tribe (daqbilt) go before sunrise to one of the enemy's market-places, taking with them a cow or a bullock, which they slaughter there as 'ar. They then retire to a desolate place in the neighbourhood and remain there till they are fetched by

[1] [For definition of 'ar see previous page:- Analyst]

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

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765 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child deposit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

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696 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

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CHAPTER XI

WITCHCRAFT—HOMŒOPATHIC INFLUENCES—THE TRANSFERENCE OF EVIL

754 Besides the evil eye and the curse there are other mysterious malign influences which are due to envy or ill-will, namely practices called shor (or shor), that is, witchcraft. The plural shor is much more frequently heard than the singular sahr or sehr, the latter of which is, to my knowledge, only used by scribes. A person who practises shor is called sahhar or sahhar (plur sahharin or sahhara), if a man, and sahhara or sahhara, if a woman. The Berbers have berberised forms of these words, such as sshor (Ait Waryager), sshor (Ait Sadden), or ssehar (Ait Warain); ssahhar (plur. ssahhara; Ait Waryager), ashhar (plur. ishharn; Ait Sadden), or ashhar (plur. ishharn; Igliwa); ssahhara (plur. ssahharat; Ait Waryager), tashhart (plur. tishharin; Ait Sadden), or tashhart (plur. tishharin; Igliwa).

[572] Among the Ait Waryager, if a bridegroom on the day of "the great henna", rhanni amaqran, is not sufficiently liberal to the scribes, it may happen that one of the latter takes revenge in the following manner. He writes something on the blade of a clasp-knife, goes into the room in which the bridegroom is sitting, with the knife hidden underneath his clothes, and shuts it up at the moment when he salutes him. He subsequently ties up the knife so that it shall remain well shut, buries it in a desolate place, and makes a cairn over it; and the husband will now be incapable of having intercourse with his wife. He will, however, be easily cured by inducing the mischiefmaker, whom he will soon find out, to undo the enchantment; but, of course, he has to pay for it. The guilty scribe digs up and unties the knife, writes something from the Koran on a paper, and gives the paper to the bewitched husband, who pours water over it and then drinks the water.

[578] Shor may also be practised without reference to any particular individual. If a band of scribes are in need of money, one of them feigns to be dead and the others cover him up with a blanket, sit down round him, and read over him as if he were dead. The effect of this sham funeral is that there will soon be a death which will bring them

754 profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Ait Waryager). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work: —*Qum* *t hdem* *'ala rasak*; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Ait Waryager they beat the bier three times at night, saying, *Kar* *athadmed* *ya* *rmahmer*, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (*dasfirt*) on which they keep their food when [579] they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Ait Waryager). It is also *shor* when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough.

787 [580] If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Ait Waryager), into his beard, he will have a guest.

832 [581] At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (*hammos*) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and m mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called hommes) and almonds (*ibid.*, Ait Waryager) are used for the same purpose; and so are earth-nuts (*biyanat* or *kaukau*; Tangier Fez) and beans (Ait Waryager). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

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832 At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Ait Waryager, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (*daqdeht*) upside down with a so-called *didli* (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "to destroy the evil", which undoubtedly meant any

585 232 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 755 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 843 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic influences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 777 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 356 [312] [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a person cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then
the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is
able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this
connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember
[261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth
[272] (*sansal*), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are
in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing
them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they
drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or
knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes
steal the rope with which they are beaten by the *fqi* and throw
it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the *fqi* as the water cools
the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip
he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are
up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a newborn
871 child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a
754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the
door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg
which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter
of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when
the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever
after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the
boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make
"the reversed *fatha*" over the pieces with a view to killing the child
(Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events
857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is
a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the
Prophet will be erect" — *alam n-nbi waqaf*, —that is, the Muhammadans
will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully
ride on bamboo canes *l-hair maji*, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or
the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of
the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster
by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting
(Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the
days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

787 have a long life; this belief is particularly prevalent in connection with the sacrifice at the Great Feast, but it also applies to the slaughter of animals on other occasions (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager). So also, if you throw something on the ground and it falls in an upright position you will have a long life—your "luck remained standing"; and the same is the case if a match continues to burn after you have thrown it away (Tangier). If you throw down a stone which you find on the road you will become ill; the idea is evidently that you will have to lie down like the stone (Ait Waryager).

789 753 [604] In other cases the spoken word is supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to. It is a general belief that if a sick person speaks to another about his illness the other one will become ill, unless special precautions are taken. Before he speaks of it he should say, Smah li ma skit 'alik, leh la iwurrik bas, "Pardon me, I did not complain to you, may God let you have no evil"; and if no such apology is made the person spoken to says or whispers, Basak f rasak ma t ski si 'aliya, "May your evil be on your head, do not complain to me" (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person complains of being ill in another person's presence, the latter says, Ski 'ala t-treq, dzidek l-hareq, "Complain to the road, may it increase for you the pain"; or Jnun l-marsa temma yersa, "[Complain to] the jnun of the harbour, there it (that is, the illness) will remain" (Fez); or, "Complain to the stones, may God increase it (that is, the illness) for you" (Ait Waryager).

[606] If a sick person sells his clothes his illness will be transferred to the person who buys and wears them, but if he gives them away in charity the recipient will not get his illness, although he himself will get rid of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

789 [607] The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by slaughtering it. The killing of a fowl on the birth of a child is expressly said to safeguard its life by removing its bas, and the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat in connection with the naming of the child serves a similar purpose.

[608] So also the accidental death of an animal is supposed to a save its owner or his family from misfortune (Dukkala, Andjra, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu).

787 A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, assured me that to break
789 a stick is an evil omen for its owner; and to break something behind the back of an unwelcome person when he leaves is a method of preventing his return, which will be as impossible as the restoration of the broken object (Tangier).

[1]

VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

585 [8] It is bad *fal* to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's *bas*; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad *fal* if two *'ammariyat* (more often called *a'mamer*), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the *'ammariya* means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an *'ammariya* or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, *'ammariyat* are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness
and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where
a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at
any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it
is bad *fal* if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts
besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good *fal* if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the *bas*, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad *fal* to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good *fal* to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the *bas*; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclean.

755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for
stinging pain, in Arabic called *nahsa*, *nogza*, *bab*, or *biban*, among the Igliwa *nnahst* or *nnogzt*, among the Ait Warain *tauwurt*, among the Ait Waryager *dauwort*. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he
blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the
Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers
and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to
get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
884 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When
a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the
next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.

789
826 If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and
gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for
leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk
of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough.
Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all
sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its
eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There
are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by
the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that
milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is
painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna,
so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red
silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in
wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which
is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant
to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring
defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb,
which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating
of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine.
Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it
by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops
[514] at once and makes water on them.

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger,
you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle
(Ait Waryager).

825 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is
787 a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to
192 hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[292] It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a
[784] thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
[264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and
to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina,
Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will
go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back,
his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait
Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal
to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage
in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance
one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore
generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they
occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel.

Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various
days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

777 the only lucky day for it, being the first day of the week. In several tribes the reaping also begins on that day, and in some tribes the threshing. In fact, it is a good day for the beginning of any enterprise (Tangier). It is a favourite day for the [41] fetching of the bride to her new home (Tangier, Andjra, Igliwa, Ait Tameldu, Aglu), matrimonial intercourse being very auspicious on the night between Sunday and Monday (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); it is said that a boy conceived on that night, or on the eve of Friday, will become a mujahed (Hiaina).

Monday is also in some tribes considered a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing, reaping, and threshing. The Ait Waryager maintain that it is a good day for the beginning of any kind of work. Both among them and the Ait Sadden it is one of the two most suitable days for the fetching of the bride.

[42] Tuesday is in Andjra, like Friday, one of the days chosen for the commencement of the sowing of maize and durra. Among the Ait Waryager it is a good day for visiting saint-shrines.

[43] The Ait Waryager consider Wednesday, like Monday, to be a good day for beginning work of any description.

[44] Thursday is in some tribes held to be a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing, the reaping, and the threshing; the At Ubahti consider it even a better day than Sunday for the beginning of the ploughing. It is a very suitable day for the fetching of the bride (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Igliwa, Ait Tameldu), the eve of Friday being an excellent time for [45] matrimonial intercourse (Fez, Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Igliwa).

It is a good day for blood-letting (Fez, Tangier, Igliwa) and shaving (Ait Waryager).

[46] On the whole, Saturday, like Tuesday, is an evil day. It is held unfortunate to be born on a Saturday (Fez, Tangier, and elsewhere), though some people are of the very opposite opinion (Ait Waryager).

787 Sometimes a disagreeable dream is looked upon as a punishment. A person who has neglected his prayers is liable to dream that he is bitten or persecuted by a snake (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[47] If you dream of bees you should offer food to the scribes in the mosque, the bees representing the Koran (Ait Waryager).

If you dream of a dog somebody is speaking badly about you, barking as it were (Ait Waryager).

787 [48] Again, if you mention to anybody a good dream you have had it will lose its efficacy (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

Sometimes you must yourself do something to make your dream effective. If you dream of having connection with a woman of whom you are fond and then turn your cloak—a Moor generally sleeps in his cloak—she will also dream of you and the love will be mutual (Ait Waryager).

[49] If you dream that one of your teeth falls out, some relative of yours will die (Andjra)—a child or unmarried young person if it is a foretooth and a grown-up person if it is a molar (Tangier); or in the former case a relative will die and in the latter an enemy (Ait Waryager).

To dream of eating fresh figs (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) or grapes (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Nder) means rain, because they are juicy; or to dream of eating grapes means rain if they are black, and sunshine if they are white (Ait Waryager).

If you dream of eating *seksu*, you will have much corn (*ibid.*); or your children will have smallpox, professedly on account of the resemblance between *seksu* and smallpox (Hiaina); or there will be fighting with the firing of guns (Ait Waryager), probably because *seksu* makes one think of powder. If you dream that you eat, or that somebody gives to you, durra or bread made of it, you will have a lot of boils (*ibid.*).

[50] If you dream that you receive silver money you will have much barley, which has the colour of silver, and if you dream that you receive copper coins you will have much wheat, which has the colour of copper (Ait Nder); but according to other interpretations copper coins in a dream mean poverty (Hiaina, Andjra), and silver means wealth (Ait Waryager).

If you see a camel in your dream some [51] member of your family will die, the camel representing a bier (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa).

If a person dreams of riding a black horse he will be put in prison (Dukkala), the black colour being bad *fal* in dreams as otherwise (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Dukkala [black grapes or figs]).

If you dream of eating meat you will speak badly about somebody on the next day, "eating" him as it were (Andjra); but I have also heard that although it is a bad foreboding to dream of eating raw meat, it is good *fal* to dream of eating meat which has been cooked (Ait Waryager).

787 [52] If you dream of being drowned while swimming, some evil will befall you (Tangier). Otherwise it is good *fal* to dream of water, because "there is safety in water" (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager).

To dream of fire is bad (*ibid.*, Ait Waryager).

Some people say that he who dreams of a Christian will have to suffer from hunger (Ait Waryager).

[53] In many cases the interpretations of dreams do not follow the rule of homœopathic magic but are based on an association of ideas by contrast; in other words, the dream is supposed to foretell or cause an event which is more or less contrary to that which is dreamed of. That dreams so often go by contraries, in Morocco and elsewhere, is no doubt connected with the fact that night is the opposite of day.

Thus if you dream that you or somebody else dies or is dead, you or that person will have a long life (Shawia, Dukkala, Hiaina, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Nder, Igliwa). To dream of sorrow or weeping means happiness, and to dream of happiness or laughter means sorrow (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Igliwa). To dream of a funeral is good *fal* (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager), but to dream of a wedding is bad *fal* (Hiaina); somebody in the tent or house where the wedding is celebrated will die (Ulad Bu'aziz, Dukkala, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Nder).

[54] To see a Jew in dream is according to some people a bad omen (Tangier), but according to others a good one because the Jew represents a saint (Hiaina, Ait Waryager); and if you dream that he gives you something, a saint will give it to you (Ait Nder). If you dream of eating sweetmeats, honey, or raisins you will quarrel with somebody (Ait Waryager), which is the opposite of "sweetness".

To dream of cats is bad *fal*, and so it is to dream of fowls (Ait Waryager).

The belief in a certain interpretation of a dream needs not be shaken by facts which are contrary to it. There are false dreams as well as true dreams. Sitan constantly deceives people with false dreams. If a person does not observe his religion, and particularly if he omits saying his evening prayer (Fez), his dreams are sent by the devil and therefore not to be trusted; whereas the dreams of the religious man who never neglects his prayers are true (Tangier, 787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in
805 Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the
796 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to
796 Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the
784 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on
796 that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

777 784 796 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 585 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Dukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying, 796 leaving them there until the whole Koran has been recited; the leaves are subsequently made into ropes, by which they suspend their churns in order to impart baraka to the butter.

796 736 [99] When Ramadan has come to an end and the dawn of day no longer is a signal to abstain from food and drink, the breaking of the taboo is to be preceded by a rite which [100] obviously serves the purpose of removing the danger attending it. Sidi Halil says that it is an obligation on the faithful to give special alms, called fitr, to the poor on this occasion, by preference on the first evening of the festival following upon the month of Ramadan or at the dawn of the next day. These alms should consist of those food-stuffs which the giver habitually uses; their amount should be proporionate to the number of dependents comprised in the household; and the quantity of grain to be given should be one sa'—that is, slightly less than half a bushel—for each Muhammadan member of it. It is said in Morocco that if no fetra, as these alms are called there, is given, Ramadan will be hanging between heaven and earth.

796 [101] Among the Ait Waryager the fetra of a suckling is set aside on the previous evening. Among these Berbers the fetra consists of all kinds of dry vegetable food which they have been eating during Ramadan, including even a few almonds, raisins, and other dried fruits, if they happen to have them in the house. It is measured out with a so-called rmudd ne nnbi, made either of wood (in which case it has been brought from Mecca) or of earthen ware; and absent and [102] deceased members of the household are also remembered on this occasion. The fetra is afterwards taken to the mosque and presented to the fqi, except a small portion of it which is left in the house to be given to poor people and schoolboys calling for it. The men who carry the fetra to the mosque also bring with them some food for breakfast, which is partaken of in common by all the men and bigger boys of the village. The fqi gives one portion of the fetra of his own household to the schoolboys in the mosque, while the other portion is distributed to the poor people calling at his house. Nobody can, of course, eat of the fetra of his own household.

[106] On the tenth day of the month Du 'l-hijjah, the last month of the year, the Muhammadan world celebrates its yearly sacrificial feast, known under different names in different Moslem countries. In Morocco the Arabic-speaking population call it l-'id l-kbir, "the

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the[1] animal is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

[1] [i.e.-sacrificial-Analyst]

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755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

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782 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

787 [128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

787 powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised, none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood. But I presume that it must be more complicated, as [791] there are only special persons, called kett afa (sing. kett af, from kt ef, "shoulder"), who are versed in it.

[159]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH CERTAIN DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

796 805 While the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also familiar with the Julian calendar , especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. They call the months by their Latin names, more or less modified. January is called yennayer or yennair (Fez), nnair (Ait Sadden, Igliwa), inneir (Aglu); February, yebrayer (Fez), hobrair (Ait Sadden), kobrair (Ait Warain), brair (Igliwa); March, mars (Fez), mars (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); April, yebril (Fez), ibril (Ait Sadden), ibril (Igliwa); May, miyyu (Fez), maiyu (ibid., Ait Sadden), maiyu (Igliwa); June, yunyuh (Fez), yunyuh (Ait Sadden), nunyuh (Igliwa); July, yulyuz (Fez), yulyuz (Ait Sadden), lulyuz (Igliwa); August, gust (Fez), gust (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); September, sut anbir (Fez), sutenbir (Ait Sadden), sutanbir (Igliwa); October, kt ubar (Fez), htobar (Ait Sadden), ktobar (Ait Warain), ktubr (Igliwa); November, nouwanbir (Fez), nuwenbir (Ait Sadden), nuwanbir (Igliwa); December, dujanbir (Fez), dujenbir (Ait Sadden), dujanbir (Igliwa).

The solar year is divided into twenty-eight manazil (sing. menzla), each containing thirteen days, with the exception of the jebha (18th-31st July), which contains fourteen. [160] The first menzla is n-natah (in the written language of the scribes n-natah), from 23rd March to 4th April. The following ones are l-butain (5th-17th April); t uriya (t-turiya), 18th-30th April; d-dabaran, 1st-13th May; l-haq'a, 14th-26th May; l-han'a, 27th May-8th June; d-dira', 9th-21st June; n-net ra (n-natirah), 22nd June-4th July; tarfah, 5th-17th July;

796 jebha, 18th-31st July; l-harat an (l-haratan), 1st-13th August; s-sarfa,
805 14th-26th August; l-'auwa, 27th August-8th September; s-samak, 9th-21st September; l-gafar (l-gafar), 22nd September-4th October; j-janaban, 5th-17th October; l-iklil, 18th-30th October; l-qalb, 31st October-12th November; s-saula, 13th-25th November; n-nu'aim, 26th November-8th December; sa'd l-belda, 9th-21st December; d-dabeh, 22nd December-3rd January; sa'd bla' (sa'd l-bula'), 4th-16th January; sa'd s'oud (sa'd s-su'ud), 17th-29th January; l'ahbiya, 30th January-11th February; farg l-moqaddam, 12th-24th February; farg l-mohhar (farg l-mu'ahhar), 25th February-9th March; batna l-hot 10th-22nd March.

The year has four seasons (fosol, sing. fasl). Spring (fasl ar-rbe'a) commences on 15th February, summer (s-saif) on 17th May, autumn (l-hrif) on 17th August, winter (s-set wa) on 16th November. The forty days between 12th December and 20th January inclusive are called liali, and the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive are called s-smaim or s-smaim.

To various dates of the solar year magical qualities are ascribed, and this leads to the observance of many positive rites and taboos.

796 [162] The Ait Waryager call the last day of the old year and the first day of the new imgaren, "sheikhs".

[166] The Bni 'Aros eat siyoha on New Year's eve and sfen j on the next day. The Ait Waryager eat eggs and wheaten bread on the former occasion and seksu with fowl on the following evening.

[169] Among the Ait Waryager women who have cows and are in the habit of making butter go on New Year's day to a scribe and procure from him a charm which he writes with a needle on a bullet; this charm is hung on the wooden hook (ashum) from which the earthenware churn (aqasror) is suspended, and is left there till the following New Year as a protection against witchcraft.

[765] [174] The Ait Waryager, again, take on New Year's morning
[735] iuzan, or porridge, to the graves of their deceased relatives and distribute it in charity to children and poor people.

[178] At the same time I have also found quite the contrary belief, that it serves as a protection against snakes and scorpions by making them blind if it touches their eyes (Tetuan, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Tsul, Ait Sadden) or even killing them (Tetuan, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain), whereas if there is no rain in the nisan their eyes are said to become like fisan (hoes) and their mouths like kisan (cups).

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[515] [189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 245 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang [754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 796 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

796 In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.

[193] The Ait Waryager make imsihan (the Arabic siyoha) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any.

796 787 821 [206] The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive (Old Style) form the period of s-smaim, or "the great heat". It is a time of omens. Thunder in the smaim is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Hiaina, Tsul, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager).

In Andjra continual east wind in the smaim is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Ait Waryager expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the smaim.

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RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE

241 The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic hart l-bekri, l-hart de l-bekri, or simply l-bekri; and in Berber dayarza damanzuit (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamanzust (Temsaman), taharratt umenzu (Ait Nder), amenzu (Ait Yusi), amenzui (Amanuz). During this season wheat,(1) barley (2), beans (3),

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1. In Arabic gemah or gmah, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference zra', a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber irden (Shloh), erden (Ait Yusi), erden (Ait Waryager). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, op. cit. p. 265 sq.

2. In Arabic s'er; in Berber timzin (Shloh), tumzin (Amanuz), timzin (Ait Yusi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, op. cit. p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is imendi.

241 3. In Arabic *ful*; in Berber *ibaun* (Shloh, Ait Yusi, Rif dialects), *ibawen* (Ait Waryager). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 268.

peas (4), and lentils (5) are sown; but where irrigation prevails

4. In Arabic *jelban*; in Berber *tinifin* (Shloh), *tinaffin* (Amanuz), *dinifin* (Ait Waryager), *jjilban* (Ait Yusi). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 269 *sq.*

5. In Arabic *'ades*; in Berber *tiniltit* (Amanuz), *l'ads* (Ait Yusi), *ra'des* (Ait Waryager). See also Laoust, *op. cit.* p. 269.

[209] beans may be sown before the rains, a sowing which in Fez is called *t-t aqser* and among the Ait Yusi *ibaun imenza*, "the early beans". There is a later ploughing season—called in Arabic *l-mazozi* or *l-hart de l-mazuzi*, and in Berber *dayarza damazuzt* (Ait Waryager), *tayaza tamazust* (Temsaman), *amazuz* (Ait Yusi), *tigira* (Amanuz)—when the same kinds of cereals or pulse are sown.

[210] On the day when the ploughing commences certain rites are performed in all parts of Morocco.

[215] Among the Ait Waryager, immediately before the ploughing begins, the owner of the field has a dish of *seksu* and fowl prepared in his house. Part of it is eaten by him, his family, and the ploughman (if he does not plough himself), while the rest is sent to the village mosque to be eaten by those who happen to be there. When they have finished the meal they make *fatha* and invoke blessings on the future crops.

Among the Ait Waryager the ploughman, when he puts the plough-point (*dagarsa*) into the ground, curses the devil by saying, *Allah ina'lek ya ssitan raharami*, "May God curse you, O Satan the villain"; or, still better, expels him with the phrase, *Misbillah arrahmani* arrahemi, *arrahemi*, *a'udu bi llahi mina assitani arrajemi*, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one".

[218] Among the Ait Waryager, if a bull, cow, or mule is not good at ploughing, it is taken three times round a saint's shrine, after

241 which a little bag containing some earth from the shrine is hung on it, and the farmer promises to give a present to the saint if the animal improves.

The ploughman, who is called in Arabic l-harrat or l-hammas and in Berber aharrat (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi) or ahammas (Ait Warain, Ait Waryager), is subject to certain rules the transgression of which is supposed to injure the crops. It is considered necessary that he shall be sexually clean; if he has had intercourse he must wash himself before he commences his work, since otherwise there would be [219] no baraka, or holiness, in the seed or there would grow mostly grass and weeds on the field.

[220] In Andjra the seed is likewise kept carefully apart from other grain; and both there and elsewhere (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Yusi) it is believed that if a child or unmarried person passes ahead of the sower so that some of the cast seed touches him or her, that person will never marry—"the bas will remain in him till his death".

243 [227] When the reaping is finished, or also every afternoon successively as long as it lasts, the reaped corn is carried to the place in the open where it is going to be threshed. This threshing-floor of earth is called in Andjra nwader, in the Hiaina nader, in the Garbiya and among the Ulad Bu'aziz, as also among other Arabs of the plains, ga'a; and among the Berbers anrar (Aglu, Amanuz, Demnat, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder), anrar (Ait Warain), andra (Temsaman), annar (Ait Waryager), arnan (At Ubahti), rrhabt (Ait Sadden). Two stacks are made there, one of barley and another of wheat, unless indeed there happen to be different kinds of wheat which the owner wishes to keep separate.

[229] The corn is generally trodden out on the threshing-floor by animals—horses, mules, donkeys, or in some tribes, e. g. the Ait Nder, by oxen. The wheat is commonly subjected to this process a second time, if there is any considerable quantity of it, in order to be cleared of the husks which may still cling to it; but the barley is threshed first so as to supply the animals with fodder.

[232] The heap of ready threshed corn—which is called in Arabic saba, and in Berber tirrit (Igliwa), tirst (ibid., Amanuz, Aglu), tirrst (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), tirrejt (Ait Warain), dirrest (Ait Waryager), tiarrest (Temsaman)—is protected against jnun by salt (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Igliwa), tar

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

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778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

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778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid
[783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

412 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

412 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm.
231 Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

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RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

789 evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred.

[266] The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif the women dress up a wooden ladle (aganja) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain.

[572] [276] As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain. Among the Ait Waryager rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Esa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (anahadam) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air.

[279] Among the Ait Waryager, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque.

[282] The Ait Waryager, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts.

[283] BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATION TO ANIMALS

231 [284] In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal; after they have eaten they make fatha, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Ait Yusi, Ait Waryager).

[285] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought.

Among the Ait Waryager a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (damqayyast) or a pair of silver brooches (dibzimin, sing. dabzind), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (azqaq) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away.

[177] [287] Among the Ait Waryager donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad fal.

231
755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231
839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231
777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

23 [300] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a considerable number of sheep or goats he slaughters one of them so that there shall be much baraka in the animals and they shall be very fertile.

[303] Among the Ait Waryager whooping-cough is cured with the [755] milk of a perfectly black she-goat, which is taken in the morning on an empty stomach warm as it comes from the udder.

[304] If a dog eats from a vessel or licks it the vessel will break, unless it is washed seven times with hot water (Andjra); or it must be washed with water into which seven stones have been put in order to make it clean (Ait Waryager).

[305] If a dog or a cat steals food belonging to the scribes of the mosque it will have the itch (Ait Waryager). If the dog eats the flesh or blood of a camel it will become blind or die (Ulad Bu'aziz); and if it eats the blood of a person it will lose its hair (Andjra) or it is bad for the person (Ait Waryager). If a bitch is addicted to stealing food, its owner puts its pups on the road leading to the market-place so that passers-by shall take them up and teach them how to behave; then their mother will cease to steal (ibid.).

[308] Unlike other dogs the greyhound is regarded, not as unclean, but as possessed of baraka.

The cat, also, has some baraka. It is good to eat food of which [755] a cat has eaten before. This is a cure for nervousness (Andjra); and so it is to wash oneself with water from which a cat has drunk (Tangier), or to eat the flesh of a cat (Ait Waryager).

[309] A cat has seven lives; hence to kill one is as bad as to kill seven men (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[310] A person who eats the liver of a fowl is supposed to become a coward (Igliwa, etc.); hence it is not eaten by men and boys (Aglu, Ait Warain) or is not given to young boys to eat (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

A person, or at least a child (Ait Waryager), who eats the head of a fowl will become night-blind, because the fowl is unable to see [311] in the dark.

If a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung in a tree with the head downwards while it is raining (ibid.), or oil is put into its mouth and genitals (Ait Waryager).

[312] We have seen that baraka is ascribed to the bee and to honey, and noticed many observances connected with the idea of their holiness.

825 The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal
[262] and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to
Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue.

[842] [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed
with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning
before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager)
or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witch-
craft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.
[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for ex-
ample, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

825 The roasted and pounded liver of a hedgehog mixed with honey, is also given to schoolboys to eat in the morning on an empty stomach in order that they may remember their lessons (Ait Waryager).

[326] The hare is said to have been once an old woman, who was
transformed into a hare because she acted as a panderess (Ait Sadden).
It menstruates like a woman and is therefore an unclean animal which
[262] should not be eaten; but this rule is not strictly observed. It is eaten
both as food and for magical and medicinal purposes.

825 [327] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from night-
755 blindness (butallis), the liver of a hare is roasted and cut into three
pieces by the schoolmaster of the village, who then writes something from the Koran on them. The patient takes one of the pieces and goes with it in the evening after sunset to the dung-heap (dazubait) of the house, calls a dog, and eats the piece of the liver, giving little bits of it to the dog as well. On the two following evenings he does the same with the other pieces of the liver; and then he will get rid of his complaint.

[787] If you go anywhere in the morning and meet a hare it is a bad omen (Dukkala, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa), especially if the hare is asleep and wakes up and runs ahead of you (Hiaina).

[328] The bat is used as medicine for fever. It is dried and burned and the smoke is made to pass underneath the clothes of the patient (Ait Waryager).

825 [331] To shoot a raven may also be attended with evil consequences. I was told of two men among the Bni Msauwar who did so and whose guns burst, and similar things are said to happen among the Ait Waryager.

[787] [333] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person goes somewhere at any hour of the day, it is a bad omen to see one raven ahead of him but a good one to see two.

[334] The eye of an owl is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep.

Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks and the other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks in a small leather case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness (Ait Nder), others eat the eye which floats for the same purpose (Ait Waryager).

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] 825 755 The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [231] [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know
that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to
remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary
bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both ex-
pressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your
business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra,
Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to
852 procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355]
t-Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live
scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round
the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die;
it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after
which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a
live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick
child.

825 In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound
[752] caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra
[824] [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which
has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot
compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children
when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of
making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and
then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about
a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse
if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would
say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you
evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom
264 for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before [264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra); or before the breaking of each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and 689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

844 [372] Among the Ait Waryager, before a woman gives birth to a child, the fqi of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery.

[373] Among the Ait Waryager the after-birth (adan) and navel-string (dmit) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

[376] Among the Ait Waryager the mother is [377] immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl.. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (dahabbit), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the newborn child if there is one, otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

[378] Among the Ait Waryager, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (dahadmit) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the jnun.

[380] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there.

[384] The Ait Waryager have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong".

[387] In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Amanuz and other people of Sus), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother.

[346] 852 553 [391] Among the Ait Waryager the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (rahzam) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a

852 553 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)—which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among theAit Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

852 304 [429] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager circumcision often takes place on the twelfth day of the month of the Mulud, "the day of the feast", at least when the family is fairly well-to-do, and it is performed by an expert, accompanying a band of scribes. It is considered of importance that there should be scribes present to make recitations from the Koran in the room where the operation is made. This is not the room inhabited by the boy's own family—which on this occasion is occupied by the women—but another room in the same house; the Ait Waryager live in houses containing several rooms, each of which is inhabited by one family. On the day when the boy is circumcised his father kills a sheep or a goat or, if he cannot afford that, some fowls; the scribes have to be entertained with food, and rewarded with money as well. Contrary to the custom at Aglu, the father is present in the room where the boy is circumcised, but not the mother. The boy is dressed in new clothes, a belt (rahzam) is wound round the top of his head, and just before the operation is performed his eyes are blackened with antimony. If his father is a man of means, a silver bangle (ahalhal) is also put round the boy's ankle, or round each of his ankles, and is left there until he grows older, to be used again for the next son when he is circumcised. The wounded part of the penis is dipped into the yolk of an egg, which is then thrown away. The foreskin is put in some "clean" place, where nobody can walk over it. The boy is removed to his father's room, where he is confined for seven days.]

[434] RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH

763 If a person is very ill and his death is held to be immanent, his near relatives living in the same town or village assemble in the room in which he is lying. Should any of them fail to appear, the family of the dying person would look upon it as a sign of enmity and would make it a cause of quarrel. In country places a message may also be sent to relatives in neighbouring villages, who likewise hasten to the death-bed of their friend. No menstruating woman, however, should enter the room, nor any woman who has omitted to clean herself after sexual intercourse.

If the family of the dying person can afford it scribes are called in to recite a chapter of the Koran, unless some one of the assembled

763 friends is capable of performing this task. The recitation should be continued till the moment of death, but no longer, its object being to shorten the agony. The chapter considered most suitable for this occasion is the suratu 'r-ra'd, which is called s-sahliya because it makes death easier. For a similar purpose a little honey is put into the mouth of the dying person, and at the last moment some water is dripped into it to moisten his throat. If his teeth are clenched, which is sometimes supposed to indicate that he has led a sinful life (Ait Waryager), some cotton or [435] wool is soaked in water mixed with honey and then pressed against his teeth.

When life is extinct, or sometimes when a person is at the point of death, his eyes and mouth, if open, are closed. It is believed that if he dies with open eyes or, at all events, if they are left open, somebody else of his family or kin will die before long (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden).

[436] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the women of the family and those who come to condole only weep in another room.

[442] As soon as the death becomes known it is the custom for friends to pay a visit of condolence to the family of the deceased.

[443] Among the Ait Waryager the women who come to the house bring flour, while the male condolers assist the men of the family in their preparations for the funeral.

764 Very shortly after death the body of the deceased is washed, at least if he died at so early an hour that the burial can take place on the same day.

[445] The body is washed with warm water, and certain parts of it with soap or scented soap-stone (gasul). The person who performs the act, after washing his own hands, says the bismillah and states inwardly his intention to wash the dead one: — Allahumma inni nawit gasl l-miyit . He then washes the genital region very carefully with a towel, which is left there. He washes the lips and the teeth three times, and the nose the same number of times. All these parts of the body are washed with the left hand. He washes with both hands the face and the right and the left hand and arm to the elbow, all three times. He passes his wet hands once from the forehead to the nape and back again. After again wetting his fingers he puts the forefingers into the ears and passes the thumbs behind their backs. Taking water with the right hand he washes with the left the feet as

764 as high as the ankles, first the right and then the left, three times apiece or more if they are dirty. He then recites the profession of the fatih, unless he has, prematurely, done so before, when passing his hands over the crown and back of the head. This ablution, which is called l-wudu, is followed by the so-called gasl l-miyit . The upper part of the dead body is raised into a sitting position. The washer fills his open hands with water three times and washes the head. With his right hand he washes the inside of the right ear and with his left hand that of the left ear, and washes in a similar manner the backs of the ears. With water poured out by his assistant he then washes the remaining parts of the body in the following order: the right and the left sides from the neck to the knee; the back; the foreside from the chin [446] downwards to the end of the stomach, giving particular attention to the navel; and the right and the left leg from the knee to the ankle. After this he recites once more the profession of the faith. These ablutions must be performed on the day when the dead person is to be buried, even though he had died and been washed on the day before. In such a case, however, the first washing is generally of a very simple character. There may also be a preliminary washing if the death and the burial take place on the same day.

Precautions have to be taken with the water which has been used for the washing of the corpse. It is bad to tread on it. If anybody does so the skin of his feet will chap (Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[447] When the body has been washed it is dressed. Once more the big toes are, in many cases, tied together, and the jaws are bound up.

[448] Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the body is dressed in "drawers" (ssarwar, ssawar), "shirt" (ssammir, ttsammir), "turban" (da'mand, arazzet), and "slippers" (iharkusen, ihakas), and is then wrapped up in a shroud (rehfen, resfen).

[450] Among the Ait Temsaman scribes are reciting the tabarak while the body is being washed and dressed, but no recitations are made at night. The case is different among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Sadden, as also in the Hiaina, if the family can afford to employ scribes for nightly recitations.

[451] The time when the deceased is buried depends on the hour of his death.

764 The dead person is said to be anxious to be buried as soon as possible and to "complain of his family" if it is not done. Among the Ait Waryager there is the [452] opposite belief: the departed is too fond of his old home to like to be hurried into the grave, though his people want to bury him quickly. The burial is among them postponed till the following day even if the death occurred shortly after mid-day, and it is said never to take place after *'asar*.

[454] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the bier, after being carried out of the house by four men including some member of the family, is placed in the yard (*azqaq*), from which all the animals have been previously removed so as not to see or hear the dead person; it is believed that he is weeping and that animals can hear it, though men can not, and that they would become sorry if they heard it. The scribes recite the *hezb yastabsiruna*, contained in the fourth chapter of the Koran (*suratu 'n-nisa'*), and nobody is then allowed either to weep or talk. After the recitation all the people make *fatha*, one of the scribes asking God to be merciful to the dead person and to bestow his blessings on the living. Four persons take hold of the bier, and the women begin to cry. But if the departed was a bachelor or an unmarried girl one of the women, instead of crying, trills the *zgarit*, here called *sriwriwen*. Before the bier is carried out of the house a meal of meat and bread made of barley without yeast is served in the yard to the scribes and all others who are there on this occasion. But many persons do not like to partake of food served at a funeral, as such food is said to remain in the stomach for forty days.

[455] Everywhere it is considered meritorious to accompany a dead person to his grave; there is charity in every step—*kull halfa b hasana*. At Fez, Tangier, and other towns no women take part in the procession, and the same is very frequently the case in the country—for example, in Andjra and among the Bni 'Aros and other Arabic-speaking mountain tribes, among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager.

[456] In many other places the procession is headed by a band of scribes, and after them come the men carrying the corpse (Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ulad Bu'aziz, Amanuz); but among the Ait Waryager the bearers go first, after them the scribes, and then the other men and boys.

764 In some country places it is believed that if an accident happens
787 to the bier on the way to the cemetery (Ulad Bu'aziz), or if the funeral

procession stops (Ait Waryager), somebody else in the village will soon die. Among the Ait Waryager, when the procession passes a house, some water is thrown from it on the bier and the [457] men carrying it, in order to avert the pollution of death from the house.

On the arrival at the cemetery imadrán [Ait Waryager], the bier is placed at the side of the grave andar [Ait Waryager], ander [Temsaman] [Temsaman], and the prayer for the dead is said, unless it has been already done at a mosque.

[458] The body is laid in the grave on its right side with the face turned towards Mecca, the shroud is opened at head and foot, other bandages are also untied, and in the case of a man the "turban" which has been drawn over the face is removed from it. Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the fqi fills his hand with earth and keeps it closed over the dead person's face, reciting in a low voice a chapter of the Koran, one of his own choice, and, still continuing the recitation, strews the earth on the face and on the shroud covering the other parts of the body; but if water from the well Zemzem is available he sprinkles the face and the shroud with the water instead of earth, and in such a case no recitation from the Koran is made.

Boards or flat stones—called in Arabic lahd and in Berber lalhud (Ait Sadden), a jah (Temsaman), ikfafn (Amanuz)—are placed across the ledges formed by the narrow trough, at the bottom of the grave, in which the body is lying, without touching it. Their number should be an odd one—three, five, seven, or nine, according to their size; if, for example, four were sufficient to cover the body, a small one would nevertheless be added in order to avoid the even number (Ait Sadden). Among the Ait Waryager seven boards are used, and they [459] believe that if this number were exceeded there would soon be another death.

Among the Ait Waryager water is poured on the grave either when closed or on the following morning; and if any water is left from the occasion when the body was washed, it is taken to the cemetery to be poured out together with the other water.

[460] An upright stone, or sometimes a board, is placed at the head of the grave, and very frequently another one at the foot; such a stone or board, or that at the head only, is called in Arabic l-meshad or s-sahed, "the witness", and in Berber ssahad (Aid Sadden), damenzwit (Ait Waryager), or tamenzust (Temsaman).

764 Among the Ait Waryager the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave.

764 [464] The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places
767 in the country (Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, At Ubahti,
Ait Waryager), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Amanuz, Aglu). Among the Ait Waryager the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the *fqi* and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsaman, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

765 When all other persons have left the cemetery the *fqi* remains
767 there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead
person spends in his grave—called *lilt l-wahdaniya*, or "the night
776] of solitude"—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called *mlaik swal*, or "angels of asking", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sidna Nakir and Munkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkala are somewhat uncertain as to their number; I was told that the *shab s-swal*, "the friends of asking", may be three or two or only one—who can know? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sidna 'Azrain, that is 'Azra'il, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of *malaku 'l-maut*, who comes to a man at the [465] hour of death to carry his soul away from the body. The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Ait Waryager); at Marraksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the *fqi* remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called *msaula* put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does

765 767 not make the oral instruction of the fqi superfluous. He should answer his examiner thus: Allahu rabbi wa l-islamu dini wa l-ka'batu qiblati wa l-qor'anu imami wa Muhammadun nabiyi, "Allah is my Lord and Islam is my religion and the Ka'bah is my qiblah and the Koran is my director and Muhammad is my prophet". It is said that if the dead man was a scribe the Koran will give the answers on his behalf (Ulad Bu'aziz, Tangier, Ait Waryager.

In some parts of the country I found the belief that the dead person is examined on the first night, even though he still remains in his home (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

764 [468] In many places, on the other hand, there is no general funeral banquet after the burial on the same day. In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the family of the deceased, if in good circumstances, may ask the scribes to come back to the house to recite the fedya or to make recitations from the Koran or even to read the whole of it during the night, and a meal—in Andjra called t-ta'am de 'asa l-qbar—is given to them; but this meal forms part of their fee.

765 [469] After the day of burial there are still various customs and rites observed in connection with the deceased.

[470] Among the Amanuz no food must be cooked in the house on the day of burial and the two following days, neighbours providing the family with food, and I was told of a similar taboo at Amzmiz. The Ait Waryager refrain from making seksu and bread with yeast during those days.

[471] I was also told in Dukkala that no wedding must be celebrated by a near relative of the deceased within forty days, and the same rule is observed in many other places (Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, Bni 'Aros, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz). Among the Ait Waryager there must be no wedding in the whole village.

[472] Among various tribes the family of the deceased must for forty days refrain from changing their clothes or washing them, at least with soap (Andjra, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz), the men from having their heads shaved (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz).

[473] A widow's mourning (l-adda) lasts, according to the Muhammadan law, four months and ten days; but in some places in Morocco it has been reduced by custom to four months (Aglu, Ait Waryager), three months and ten days (Ait Waryager).

765 A widow who is pregnant by her former husband is nowhere permitted to marry until she has given birth to the child.

Besides being prohibited from re-marrying, a widow is subject to various other rules during her period of mourning. She must refrain from the use of cosmetics and finery, and is not allowed to attend any wedding or other feast. She should be dressed in plain white (Fez, Tangier, Ulad Bu'aziz, Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[475] In Andjra and among the Bni 'Aros, the Ait Waryager, and the Ait Temsaman scribes likewise make recitations from the Koran at the grave on the first three mornings after the burial.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, water is poured over the grave on the third day, and the scribes are then entertained with bread and meat in the house of mourning after finishing their recitations.

[476] Among the Amanuz, on the third morning after the day of burial, a meal of *seksu* with meat, called *lma'ruf*, is given at the grave to scribes and poor people; the scribes make *fatha*, but there are no recitations from the Koran. Among the Ait Waryager, on the same morning, the women of the dead person's family offer *iuzan* [477] —that is, porridge made of pounded barley boiled in water and mixed with salt butter—to the people who come to the grave, without eating of it themselves; and it is believed that if no meal were given at the grave the deceased would have earth in his mouth. The scribes, however, do not partake of this meal but, as said above, are entertained in the house of the family after they have finished their reading at the grave.

[478] Certain rites are often performed on the fortieth day after the burial.

Among the Ait Waryager there is reading both at the grave and in the house of mourning. The family slaughter a goat or sheep or a small ox and offer some of the meat together with bread at the grave; on this occasion neither the members of the family [479] nor the scribes eat anything, but after reciting a chapter of the Koran the latter go to the house and are entertained there with food.

[480] To visit the graves on Fridays or Thursday afternoons is in fact a very widespread custom (Tetuan, At Ubahti, etc.).

Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager the graves are visited by women, rarely by men; and among the latter bread or figs are given to people found at the cemetery, or water is poured at the head of the grave.

765 [481] On the 'asura day much attention is bestowed on the dead. [482] Among the Ait Waryager, on the 'asura morning, men and women go to the graves of their dead relatives and have there a meal of seksu, bread, and figs; but they only eat food which has been brought by others, not their own food. If there is water in the neighbourhood they also pour water on the graves. It is said that if alms are not given in the cemetery on this day, the dead will suffer from hunger and thirst and weep in their graves; and should children then refrain from visiting the graves of their parents, they would be cursed by them.

[483] The graves of deceased members of the family are also visited on the twenty-sixth (Tangier, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Amanuz) or twenty-seventh (Igliwa, Aglu) day of Ramadan; on the 'Arafa day preceding the Great Feast (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Igliwa, Amanuz) or on the second day of that feast (Bni 'Aros); and sometimes at the Little Feast or on the day preceding it (Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) and at the mulud (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager).

[484] There are yet other occasions on which alms should be given on behalf of the dead, either at their graves or otherwise, namely, when they appear to their living friends in dreams (Ait Waryager, Hiaina), or when the latter dream of figs or other kinds of dried fruit (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[485] There are persons who arrange their own funeral in [486] advance, for fear that otherwise it might not be conducted in the proper manner. Such a person buys his grave-clothing and invites scribes to his house or tent.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz and the Ait Waryager the scribes likewise make their recitations with the grave-clothing in front or in the midst of them, and they are lavishly entertained.

775 [534] The dead are said to visit their former homes on Thursdays, though nobody can see them (Tangier, Andjra); and in Andjra their families should therefore have good food for supper every Thursday. The soul of a dead person is, moreover, supposed to be in his grave every Friday (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Warain), or to come there on Thursday at 'asar (Tangier, Bni 'Aros)—some people say as early as Thursday morning (Ait Waryager) or on Wednesday at 'asar (Andjra)—and leave it on Friday at 'asar (ibid., Ait Waryager) or sunset (Tangier) or as soon as the grave has been visited by members of the family (Bni 'Aros).

775 [546] Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Hbib laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody, and they come not as enemies but as friends.

Among the Ait Waryager men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness.

[547] The Ait Waryager believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by jnun who come out of the ground in the dark.

[548] The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones.

In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom.

[550] In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is meskun, or haunted by jnun. A scribe from the Ait Waryager denied that it is meskun, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

789 [832] [552] In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of seksu, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the seksu with it. Among the Ait Waryager the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making seksu.

[556] The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. [755] Among the Ait Waryager one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed.

[557] Among the Ait Waryager it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, [755] whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a woman) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.